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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

DIVERSITY IN YOUTH

BY

ERICA HELENE VAN ROOSMALEN

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment for the requirement of the degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

Edmonton, Alberta
SPRING 1993

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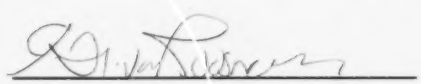

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To Augie Fleras,
for your unfailing friendship
and playfulness of spirit

ABSTRACT

Despite widespread interest in youth education, employment and deviance, the sociological study of Canadian 'youth culture' has lacked analytical attention. Two central models of youth culture, emanating from the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies in Birmingham, dominate the literature: the traditional marxist model and the feminist model. Although, their assumptions and arguments are quite distinct, both of these traditions appear to share a common premise about a division between autonomous male street-based-cultures' and female 'home-based cultures'.

In this dissertation, attention is directed toward exploring and understanding normative, everyday 'gendered' youth culture among a sample of 2,074 high school seniors in three Canadian cities. The central purpose is to question the existence of autonomous female/male youth culture forms in Canada and to identify possible processes of control which might contribute to the development of "distinctive culture". The recognition of women's and men's varied youth culture activities and relations provides an opportunity to show how both traditional male and liberal feminist models of youth culture have structured not just the popular view of youth culture, but also the compartmentalization of social life into separable structures with separate functions.

In gaining an understanding of various female and male youth culture activities, this thesis calls into question the view of youth culture along gender divide, if for no other reason than, the street-based/home-based dichotomy leads to a very restricted and inaccurate understanding of youth culture in Canada. It is argued in this thesis that youth culture should be seen as a continuous series of activities ranging from the more private-home-based pursuits through income-generating part-time employment activities, to traditionally defined pubic-street-based youth culture pursuits.

The thesis concludes with recommendations for future research and suggests that insights from this study might lead to a more sociologically informed theory and revisioning of our understanding of youth culture.

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DIVERSITY IN YOUTH

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This study is an attempt to portray and understand the relative influence of a combination of relations of power and control found in the family, the peer group and the self on the normative, everyday, 'gendered' youth culture among a group of Canadian high school seniors. Within the context of this study, the term 'youth culture' directs us to an understanding of how young people experience their everyday lives. Our definition includes a variety of sport, social, leisure, work and deviant experiences.

The idea for this dissertation was stimulated by a paper published in 1976 by two British feminist sociologists, Angela McRobbie and Jenny Garber. "Girls and Sub-cultures" is a powerful feminist indictment of the treatment of girls by sociologists of youth culture. McRobbie's argument, then and in subsequent papers (1979; 1980; 1984; 1991), is that girls have been ignored in the study of youth culture. Within youth culture research, young women have been regarded as peripheral. She also observes that the understanding of youth culture has been constrained by a 'systematically male-biased perspective'. McRobbie suggests that female youth develop an autonomous female culture, one distinct from that of male youth. One of the main purposes of this study is to identify the existence of autonomous male/female youth culture forms in Canada and possible processes of control operating within the family, the peer group and the self, which may contribute to the development of 'distinctive cultures'. Processes of control refer to levels of parental and peer attachment and support, parental monitoring as well as individuals' commitment to school and their level of financial independence from parents. It is argued that these processes of control may be involved in influencing a young person's life experiences. The institutions involved in these processes include the family, the school and the peer group. The relationships include levels of dependence and independence between parents and their teens, the relationships between teens and their friends and also their relationships to the school in terms of educational commitment. The activities include peer group socialization. They also include the parenting involved in the socializing and monitoring of sons and daughters behaviours.

Feminist researchers from a variety of academic disciplines have levelled various critiques at the dominant Western intellectual tradition and have suggested that much of that tradition is characterized by systemic male-bias. These critiques argue that male experience is taken as the norm of human experience. Women, by definition, have come to be regarded as insignificant, as 'inessential other' or as suggested by Vivian Gornick (1971) 'woman as outsider'. De Beauvoir (1961:xv) describes it best:

> A man never begins by presenting himself as an individual of a certain sex; it goes without saying that he is a man. The terms masculine and feminine are used symmetrically only as a matter of form.... In actuality, the relation of the two sexes is not quite like that of two electrical poles, for man represents both the positive and the neutral, as is indicated by the common use of man to designate human beings in general; whereas woman represents only the negative, defined by limiting criteria, without reciprocity.

A central argument throughout this dissertation is that, the established sociology of youth with its methods of acquiring and defining 'reliable' knowledge has not provided an adequate or fair understanding of the life-world experiences of female youth. A central limitation of the 'established' or 'conventional' approach is that it universalizes the norms of the dominant group, norms that have been inattentive to women's interests, experiences and perspectives within the study of culture generally and youth culture specifically (Eichler, 1988; Henderson et al., 1989; McRobbie, 1976,1990; Spender, 1982). Burris (1973:250) elaborates on how patriarchy has contributed to the conceptualization of 'culture':

> Because the male culture is dominant and in control in every nation, the national culture becomes synonymous with, and in fact is, the male culture. The female culture exists 'invisibly', in subjection to the male-defined 'national' culture. ... What appears as one culture, due to male propaganda, is in reality the male culture setting itself up as <u>the</u> culture through the subordination of the female.

More specifically, Geraldine Finn (1988:55) explains:

> ... the way women win meaning **for themselves**, as subjects **within** culture has no or very little cultural presence, and even less recognition **as** culture. This is as true of popular culture and alternative and dissenting [youth sub-] culture as it is of mainstream [youth] culture. ...For it is men who mediate women's cultural presence, men who are the watchdogs of culture. They control the norms of culture [my emphasis].

These critiques as outlined by de Beauvoir (1961), Burris (1973), Finn (1988) and McRobbie and Garber (1976) illustrate that a delineation of a culture of women, whether national culture, high culture, alternative culture or youth culture has been lacking. The experiences of women have not been acknowledged or separated from those of men. Each portrayal is heavily influenced by patriarchal structures which are merely representative of male views and interests regarding appropriate gender identity.

It is this recognition which has led feminist researchers, such as McRobbie, to call into question the validity of the 'facts' as outlined by "malestream" (O'Brien, 1981) researchers of youth culture and to question its ability to address and adequately comprehend the experiences of female youth in particular.

The aim, of this study, in the first instance, is to identify whether there is indeed such a thing as autonomous male and female youth cultures. Based on the research of Hall and Jefferson (1976:10) we understand the word 'culture' to refer to the 'level at which social groups develop distinct patterns of life, and give expressive form to their social and material life-experiences". In understanding a culture of youth, we refer to those "distinct patterns of life" that develop 'out-of-school'[1] and provide youth with a medium for expressing their social and material

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[1]This study's focus is on the gendered dynamics of 'out-of-school' culture. Having said this, however, we realize that much of what goes on outside the walls of the school is influenced by what goes on inside the school. Feminist reproduction theorists have concerned themselves with the ways in which educational practices reproduce existing class and gender inequalities (see, Arnot, 1980; Deem, 1980; Russell, 1986; Wolpe, 1977). What is revealed by this research is that through the process of socialization, teachers reinforce class and gender hierarchies. The result

life-experiences. They may include a variety of social, sport, leisure and work experiences. A culture of youth further refers to the way those 'distinct patterns of life' are "structured and shaped: but also as the way those shapes are experienced, understood and interpreted" (Hall and Jefferson, 1976:11). Thus an additional task of this study is to distinguish the ways in which macro and micro relations of control in a young person's life bears upon the likelihood of their becoming involved in dimensions of youth culture which are gendered. Macro or structural constraints are defined as those "objective aspects of anyone's life-situation which appear beyond the individual's control" (Critcher, 1976:168) --- their class, ethnic, region and gender situation. Micro constraints refer to those elements of control which operate within the family (parental attachment, support and supervision), the peer group (peer attachment and support) and within the individuals themselves (their own sense of personal achievement and independence).

The conceptual approach developed throughout the dissertation takes a feminist perspective in a quest to explain both macro and micro constraints in contemporary Canadian society, which contribute to the social control of youth's time, access to opportunity and resources and, how these are linked to the organization of youth culture as gendered. The concept of social control locates youth culture within historically established structures, processes and divisions characteristic of contemporary Canadian society. It is a combination of macro and micro constraints which are likely involved in the maintenance and perpetuation of gender inequality within youth culture.

The overall intention of this thesis is to develop a conceptual model which brings to the forefront the dynamics of these structural relations of power and the interplay of forces of parental control on the one hand and peer control on the other, in contemporary society, and how these in turn affect the everyday experiences of Canadian young people. More specifically, this model will address how a young person's family class situation, primary language spoken at home, sex, grades achieved in school, future aspirations, supervision by parents, parental attachments and peer attachments in combination contribute to moulding the ways in which youth

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of this socialization, for example, is that young women come to accept definitions of traditional gender role identities of passivity, romance, family and anti-school aspects of culture (Russell, 1986; Sharpe, 1976; McRobbie, 1976).

experience and make sense of their lives. It is argued that the experiences which define youth culture are related not only to structures of control (class, gender, ethnicity) characteristics of the larger society, but also elements of control located in the family, peer group and the individual themselves. Thus, an interactive framework is proposed with the aim of linking macro and micro structures of control as the basis for a feminist explanatory model of a culture of youth.

Participation in youth culture activities and types of and frequency of participation can vary greatly between individuals. Knowledge of youth culture participation of a group of Canadian high school students not only gives us insight into the nature of the group and how high school seniors spend their out-of-school hours, but also on how youth culture participation is related to definitions of gender identity.

Feminist theorists have been and continue to be concerned with relations of gender and elements of control under a system of patriarchy.[2] I define patriarchy as a system of social structures and practices in which 'masculine' behaviours and experiences are valued over 'feminine' behaviours and experiences. Feminist arguments have shown that ideas of 'masculinity' and 'femininity' are not natural and biological but rather social constructions. In other words, the aspirations, perceptions, behaviours and experiences of youth (whether male or female) are linked and partly determined by the ideologies, social practices and social structures of western society. There has been little work incorporating this approach in an examination of gender relations within normative youth culture.

This study provides a synthesis of different issues of gender and youth which further provides insight into the ways in which an understanding of gendered youth culture is bound up with a dichotomization of the life-world of youth, elements of control and current ideals of femininity and masculinity. In other words, this study is concerned with providing a composite picture of the nature and degree to which

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[2] The term 'patriarchy' is incorporated into much, if not most, feminist research. Yet, given its wide usage, there is little consensus about its meaning and status. The concept 'patriarchy' remains to be understood in a variety of different ways. For a discussion of the various usages and criticisms of the term please refer to the work of Armstrong and Armstrong, 1983; Barrett, 1980; Eisenstein, 1979; Fox, 1988; Kuhn and Wolpe, 1978; Rowbotham, 1981; Walby, 1990.

youth culture in Canada is socially structured. In doing so, more needs to be done than merely acknowledging the structures and ideologies and their gender consequences within youth culture. To this end, an attempt is made to convey the ways in which elements of control and traditional societal expectations of gender are absorbed and challenged and the role that the individual young people play in the social construction of youth culture as gendered.

This is intended to be more than a descriptive study; an understanding of youth culture requires an approach that integrates theory with empirical research. The concern here is to integrate a quantitative investigation with a feminist theoretical analysis. The link between theory and research is important if we are to truly understand gendered youth culture. It is not enough to merely theorize about the experiences of girls and boys within youth culture. As Merton (1967:171) reminds us: "As a matter of plain fact the theorist is not inevitably the lamp lighting the way to new observations". Theory and experience should be viewed as interwoven elements (Stanley and Wise, 1983). Actual youth experiences should be the basis for theory, and theory the means of changing existing research practices.

Before turning to the specific nature of this study, I want to discuss in more detail what is meant by a feminist sociology of youth. Taking a feminist perspective "means accepting the essential validity of other people's experiences" (Stanley and Wise, 1983:18). It means "keeping in the forefront of one's mind the life-styles, activities and interests of more than half of humanity" (Oakley, 1974:3). It means reflecting upon, challenging, counteracting, analyzing and or changing a status quo (Chafet, 1988; Kirby and McKenna, 1989) that views the social experiences associated with the lives of male youth as more valuable, more interesting and more independent, while the experiences of female youth are devalued, seen as uninteresting, inert and unappealing.

In order to make visible the invisible, to bring into focus the previously unacknowledged gender-structuring of youth life-world experiences, we need to adopt a new way of thinking about youth culture. Although the intention here is to bring young women's experiences in particular to the forefront, it is also important to include men's experiences and roles within youth culture. Youth cultures are, in many instances, heterogeneous and there is, therefore, a need to examine the relationships and interactions between girls and boys. As Stanley and Wise (1983:18) remind us: "Feminist research must be concerned with all aspects of social reality and all

participants in it. It seems obvious to us that any analysis of women's oppression **must** involve research on the part played by men in this". Harding (1986:138) similarly argues that feminist theorizing is not about substituting "one set of gender loyalties for the other ---'woman-centred' for 'man-centred'... The goal of feminist knowledge-seeking is to achieve theories that accurately represent women's activities as fully social, and social relations between the genders as a real --- an explanatorily important --- component in human history".

The theoretical analysis in this dissertation attempts to locate individual youth culture experiences in the context of larger social and material life-experiences. By developing a new conceptual model the intent here is to explain not only the role of gender in youth culture, and how gender is socially constructed and interpreted by youth culture researchers, but also, the need for taking into account both the material constraints and ideological processes that influence the social organization of youth culture. Socially structured gender differences are crucial in the maintenance and perpetuation of the unequal, patriarchal social relations characteristic of contemporary Canadian society. And, as such, gendered youth culture cannot be adequately understood without taking into account both the familial and social environment within which it is located. Within this study a particular concern is with how youth culture is defined and with how structures of power and control influence the organization of youth culture.

The dissertation begins in Chapter 2, "Boundaries of Youth Culture: A Review of Relevant Research", by addressing the issues of binary opposites (private/public debate); the exclusion of women from classic youth culture studies and, men from feminist youth culture studies; and the defining of what constitutes youth culture activities more generally. This is done in an attempt to move toward an understanding of youth culture from a balanced feminist perspective. Chapter 2 addresses the question: Does the viewing of youth culture as part of a private/public dichotomy reinforce the existing gender inequalities. In other words, by emphasizing a male/female split in youth culture pursuits and activities, as female (family) and male (street), do we merely reinforce existing stereotypes of gender identity?

From a theoretical perspective, Chapter 2 raises questions about the connections and interconnections between relations of control, normative youth culture and gender identity. To set the stage for exploring a new conceptual model, the final section of Chapter 2, begins with a review of social control and power-

control theories located within delinquent youth culture research. The chapter ends with an outline of the specific research questions and hypotheses to be addressed.

Chapter 3, "Data and Methods" begins with a description of The Youth Employment database (YEMP) analyzed in this study. Then some of its limitations are identified. The methods of analysis employed in Chapters four and five are briefly outlined.

Chapter 4, "The Public World, The Private World of Youth", is the first of two empirical chapters. Here the issue of 'gendered' youth culture is critically discussed by drawing on research data collected during the spring of 1985 from 2074 Canadian senior high school students from the cities of Edmonton, Toronto and Sudbury. Through the use of both qualitative and quantitative descriptive statistics I provide comparative evidence of the English Canadian urban youth culture scene, generally.

It is argued here that by omitting an examination of the relations **between** the sexes the established conceptual models (both marxist and feminist) of the sociology of youth present only a partial view of youth experiences and reality, and hence both are limited in their interpretive value.

Chapter 5, "Boys will be boys and girls will not"[3], proceeds from the descriptive analyses of the various forms which youth culture takes (as outlined in Chapter 4) to an examination of the familial, peer and socialized relations of power and control which influences these various forms. The challenge in this chapter is to include the diversity of gendered youth culture experiences by reassessing current explanations and empirical research findings of youth culture which have glossed over or ignored gender relations and relations of control within normative youth culture. Through the use of multivariate analyses, this chapter illustrates the extent to which relations of control (familial, peer and social) mediate gendered experiences of youth culture in Canadian society.

Chapter 6, "Youth in Focus" summarizes the results outlined in chapters four and five in relation to the research questions set out in chapter 2. It is argued here that Canadian youth culture experiences do not fit neatly into existing models, models that ignore the way patriarchal relations have dichotomized both the lives and

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[3] This expression is borrowed from Holly Devor Gender Blending, (1989:vii). Devor argues that the basis for an everyday understanding of the meaning of gender lies within the phrases 'boys will be boys and girls will not'.

consciousness of girls and boys. Chapter 6 further extends our understanding of social control and its applicability to normative youth culture. We conclude in chapter 6 that the social patterning of gendered youth culture is derived from a patriarchal continuum of control ranging from parental surveillance and peer group attachment, through 'normative regulations', to violence and threats of violence on the streets.

To conclude, this research is of importance for a number of reasons: first, previous empirical research has tended to either examine youth culture as an autonomous male 'street-based culture' or as an autonomous female 'home-based cultures'. Neither the traditional nor the feminist youth culture research emanating from the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) in England have defined youth culture as an integration of the two spheres; second, existing empirical research has failed to examine 'youth culture' as comprised of a variety of work related and leisure related activities and; third, to date there is a dearth of any theoretical understanding of youth culture in Canada.

This empirical study while not representative of all Canadian youth, should provide an initial step in understanding the everyday lives of Canadian young people, both male and female.

CHAPTER TWO

BOUNDARIES OF YOUTH: REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

INTRODUCTION

The sociological study of Canadian 'youth culture' has lacked analytical attention. There has been and continues to be extensive research on youth in Britain (Brake, 1980, 1985; Carter, 1984; Clarke, 1987; Corrigan, 1979; Corrigan and Frith, 1976; Davis, 1990; Deem, 1978; Frith, 1978, 1981a, 1981b; Hall and Jefferson, 1976; Hebdige, 1979; Hudson, 1984; Lees, 1986; McRobbie, 1990; McRobbie and Garber, 1976; Nava, 1984; Smith, 1976, 1981, 1987; Taylor, 1973; Wallace, 1991; Willis, 1977; among others). Comparable research on youth has been carried out in Australia (Connell et al., 1982; Connell, 1987; Poole, 1977, 1983). There are several studies in the United States which address the experiences of youth (Brake, 1980; 1985; Cloward and Ohlin, 1960; Cohen, 1955; Gilligan et al., 1990; Henderson et al., 1989; Sidel, 1990). To date, there has been little research on Canadian 'youth culture' per se.

Society is said to consist of a private and a public sphere. The private sphere is regarded as commensurate with the home and the social organization of family life. The public sphere, by contrast, lies outside the boundaries of the home and includes the organization of social, political and work life. In these two spheres males are said to be primarily located in the public sphere and females in the private sphere. Traditional researchers studying youth culture have tended to focus exclusively on the more visible public sphere. Recently there has been some sociological study of youth culture by feminist researchers which suggests that more attention needs to be directed toward the less visible basement or bedroom culture where girls develop their own autonomous cultural forms.

This chapter reviews three separate bodies of sociological youth research and literature, specifically focusing on issues of gender and control, in an attempt to portray and understand the everyday life-world experiences of youth. The intention in this chapter is to explore the ways in which the private/public paradigm has been,

and still is, central to an understanding of how youth cultures in western societies are structured. Historically, the development of the sociology of youth has been dominated by men who give exclusive attention to the public realm, to the activities of the street --- to the social institutions and activities from which women, by and large, are excluded. In so far as women are featured at all, they are, either, consigned to the private realm of the home, or peripheralised within the institution of the street. This traditional view of a private/public split in the activities of youth is still very much at the core of our sociological understanding of youth today.

Wide ranging traditional and feminist theories and models of youth culture appear, to me, to share a common premise about the division between public and private, a division equated with the street and the home. However, the assumptions and arguments, underlining the premise, are quite distinct. To this end, this chapter begins with a brief overview of the theoretical arguments and empirical research findings which address or imply by omission a private/public split in the cultural and subcultural dimensions of the life-world of youth,[4] while at the same time arguing that the bifurcation of youth culture along street-based/home-based lines cannot adequately account for the diversity of either male or female youth culture experiences. Acknowledging that there may be two, and only two, separate spheres of activity has had a crippling effect on any attempt to understand the everyday world of both female and male youth.

It is also necessary to examine the complex processes of social control which operate to promote the taken-for-granted private/public split which is thought to reflect a 'natural', and therefore inevitable, difference between the sexes. Within feminist research generally, and delinquency research specifically, there is much discussion about the existence of power relations and processes of social control, but, there is little attempt to explore how these actually operate in the field of normative gendered youth culture, the everyday life experiences which include a combination of 'deviant' and what others might refer to as 'conformist' activities (Brake, 1985; Everhart, 1982; Straw, 1987).

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[4] Research on youth in Britain and the United States has been extensive. Beginning in the early 1920s and throughout the late 1960s the research focus was on urban youths as a social problem. For an extensive review of the 'delinquent subculture' research I refer you to Brake (1980).

After briefly sketching the traditional model, the review centres on feminist research emanating from the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS), at Birmingham. To date, this is the most influential feminist analysis of youth culture. In particular, I concentrate on the pioneering works of Angela McRobbie (McRobbie and Garber, 1976; McRobbie, 1980; McRobbie and Nava, 1984; McRobbie, 1991). These works have been very important in the formulating of this research project. In the final section of this chapter the review turns to the literature which presents empirical research findings on the experiences of Canadian young people in work, leisure, pop-media and street culture.

In outlining these bodies of literatures the intent is to present a conceptual framework against which questions can be raised first about the way youth culture has been perceived as a private/public dualism. The public sphere is commensurate with street culture activity ---a culture of masculinity, and perhaps, more importantly, a culture which is associated with prestige. A culture of femininity is relegated to the private sphere of the home and bedroom culture ---a culture, more or less, associated with subordination and compliance. Second, the ways in which relations of gender and processes of control are central to an understanding of the organization of normative youth culture are highlighted. It may be only through an understanding of the connections between overt and socialized relations of control that we are able to understand how society structures the life-world experiences of female and male youth. Through an understanding of these connections, we will be better able to understand the continuum of gendered youth culture; and finally, to identify knowledge gaps in our understanding of the Canadian youth culture scene, specifically.

PRIVATE/PUBLIC PARADIGM

The private/public paradigm has been and, for many still is, central to an understanding of how western societies are structured. The separate female/male spheres of youth culture are central to the sociology of youth as well. Particular activities are typically labelled 'private' because they are associated with the home and family; because they are relational in part; because they are particularistic; and because they are traditionally engaged in by young women. Other activities are

labelled 'public' because they are associated with the world of work and street culture more generally; because they are instrumental in part; and they are considered universalistic; and because young men traditionally engage in them (Pleck, 1976). This has been an underlying emphasis in much of the youth culture research to date. Researchers have argued that the private/public paradigm, although not a 'tidy' theoretical framework, does provide the researcher with a practical conceptual perspective in comprehending the gender relations as integral to the organizational structuring of society (Benn and Gaus, 1983:5; Elshtain, 1981; Gamarnikow and Purvis, 1983; Hansen, 1987; Imray and Middleton, 1983; Rosaldo, 1974). Gamarnikow and Purvis further argue that it is only by "addressing the most basic social division of patriarchy, male and female spheres", that we can "begin to ask fundamental questions about the social patterning of gender" (Gamarnikow and Purvis, 1983:3).

MODELS OF YOUTH CULTURE

Two central models of youth culture, emanating from the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) in Birmingham, dominate the literature: the traditional marxist model and the feminist model.

THE PUBLIC WORLD OF BOYS: TRADITIONAL MODEL

Briefly, the traditional model[5] of 'youth culture' developed during the mid-1970s was very much influenced by a Marxian theory of deviance which emphasizes class conflict and resistance of 'street wise' youth. The most influential examination

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[5] I incorporate the term 'traditional model' in juxtaposition to the term 'feminist model' of youth. The terminology 'traditional model' is equated with the 'new subcultural theory' of youth. The most distinctive and central feature of this approach is its over-emphasis on the problematic and spectacular aspects of youth in contemporary Britain, the flamboyant but not always delinquent. This is in contrast to the 'old subcultural theory' of youth which emphasized the 'delinquent subculture' style (see for example the work of P. Cohen (1955); Cloward and Ohlin (1960), to name a few.

of working class youth is found in Paul Willis' (1977) study, Learning to Labour ---an ethnographic approach which focuses on a group of twelve white working class 'lads' in a school in Birmingham. Other major works subsumed under the rubric of the traditional model are Simon Frith's 1978 study The Sociology of Rock; Paul Corrigan's 1979 ethnographic examination of Britain's 'smash street kids' (Corrigan, 1979) and; Michael Brake's 1980 and 1985 research of comparative youth cultures and youth subcultures, primarily, in Britain and The United States (Brake, 1980; Brake, 1985).

The Exclusion of Girls

A cursory glance through any of these classics would soon indicate that the main concern of Willis, Frith, Corrigan and Brake (among others)[6] has been with those ephemeral youth cultures which have reasonably tight boundaries, distinctive shapes, and which are organized around particular activities, focal concerns and territorial space (Clarke et al., 1976; Cohen, 1980; Smith,1981) ---the deviants, drug takers, football hooligans, punks, mods, teddy boys, bohemians, in essence, the 'stylistically bizarre'[7] spectacular 'rogue male' street culture of working class youth. Corrigan (1979:119) articulates the sentiment best:

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[6] Several other studies have been conducted under the traditional model (for example, David Robins and Philip Cohen's 1978 study, Knuckle Sandwich; R. Middleton and J. Muncie, 1982 study "Pop culture, pop music and post war youth counter cultures"; Geoff Mungham and Geoff Pearson (eds) 1976, Working Class Youth Cultures; G. Murdock and G. Phelps, 1972, "Youth culture and the school revisited"; Dick Hebdige, 1979, Subcultures: The meaning of style, among a number of others). I have restricted myself here to four central pieces of work which will provide a flavour of the research conducted in the past. What is significant about these particular pieces of research is they do, however minimally, mention girls.

[7] The term 'stylistically bizarre' is adopted from Richard Jenkins, Lads, Citizens and Ordinary Kids (1983).

> The streets ... have always provided the main arena for leisure activities of the working class kids. It has been the arena where most of the illegal activities with juveniles happen. It is on the streets where the vast majority of vandalism takes place, where the greatest amount of fighting and thieving takes place. ... but also **where** the boys' day-to-day part-time activities **take place** (my emphasis).

This restricted focus has resulted in a distorted picture of the life-world of youth. The picture suggests, first and foremost, that the term 'youth' is synonymous with white adolescent males. It further suggests that, 'youth cultures' are synonymous with highly visible and deviant, resistant or delinquent street cultures (Brake, 1980, 1985; Corrigan, 1979; Frith, 1981b; Hebdige, 1982; Willis, 1977), which provide positive avenues for the celebration, exploration, affirmation and exploitation (Brake, 1980; Frith, 1981b; Willis, 1977) of youth culture activities which are "traditionally symbolical of untrammelled masculinity" (Cohen, 1955:140). The first question that comes to mind, when reviewing this research, is: why the restricted focus? Wood (1984:68) ponders a response:

> Partly because of the tradition within which I was working, I went time and time again, for the male and the spectacular in my ethnography. Perhaps I imagined it to actually equal youth culture.

Viewing youth culture as exclusively male has limited male (main) stream researchers from dealing adequately with issues of gender. In actual fact the question of gender is not an issue. This is quite evident in the research of Corrigan and Frith (1976: 239):

> We have ... ignored women ---our notion of 'the working class kid' is a male one. We have no excuse except ignorance. We know very little about the culture of teenage girls.

This is a conclusion similarly drawn by Brake who suggests that the viewing of youth culture as synonymous with male culture may be attributed to male youth culture

with sociologists accepting masculinized definitions of girls' roles in youth culture:

> Male researchers have focused on boys because of a gender identification with them and colluded with the subjects of their studies to exclude girls from their vision (Brake, 1985:164).

Jullian Wood admits his own "effective identification with the boys" (Wood, 1984: 68).

The Peripheralisation of Girls

A few mainstream traditional youth culture researchers have, to a minimal extent, worked through some of the implications of the significance of gender. Researchers such as Willis (1977) and Brake (1980; 1985) demonstrate concern with gender as 'the appreciatively passive' albeit only when they are present in male subcultures, and then, they are only visible through male needs or interests, as girl friends or 'hangers on'. The references to girls (by both the youth and the authors) are, more often than not, in terms of how girls are viewed in male youth culture terms, rather than as a primary force in the shaping of their own youth culture experiences. Girls are portrayed in terms of the way boys admire them or in terms of how girls facilitate and shape the culture of boys, through language slurs and sexist comments:

> Masculinity is important, and as such, swearing, sexist talk, a banding together against women, unite the individual **man** into a collectivity of the ... group (my emphasis) (Brake, 1985: 177).

> a more concrete hallmark of being a member of the culture is to have ...at least aspirations which are exploitative and hypocritical **of women** (Willis, 1977:146, my emphasis).

as passive objects:

> Although they are its objects, frank and explicit sexuality is actually denied to women. ... On the one hand insofar as she is a sex object, a commodity, she is actually diminished by sex, she is literally worthless, she has been romantically and materially partly consumed (Willis, 1977:44).

as objects of domesticity:

> ... I've got the right bird... Her's as good as gold. She loves doing fucking housework. Trousers I brought up yesterday, I took 'em up last night and her turned 'em up for me. She's as good as gold and I wanna get married as soon as I can (Willis, 1977:45).

as appreciative spectators:

> The combination of ...various factors gives a special tone to interaction between the sexes. 'The lads' usually take the initiative in conversation and are the ones who make suggestive comments. The girls respond with giggles and talk amongst themselves. Where girls do make comments they are of the serious, caring or human kind. It is left to 'the lads' to make the jokes, the hard comments, the abrasive summations and to create a spectacle to be appreciated by the girls (Willis, 1977:46).

and as partners:

> The female's station in society, the admiration, respect and property that she commands, depends on the kinds of relationships she establishes with members of the opposite sex (Cohen, 1955:141).

> They ... have to manage the courtship rituals, from boys trying to 'split a pair' of girls, to getting off, to going steady, which means being sexual with one boy, yet guarding one's reputation against boys who, it is accepted, are after only one thing (Brake, 1985:171).

As is clearly evident, little attempt is ever made to provide any insights into the nature of female youth culture from the point of view of females. The omission, trivialization and marginalization of girls suggests that what girls do is uninteresting. A girl's behaviour pales in significance when compared with the active street culture of boys, and therefore, as with much that goes on in the private sphere, it is considered not worthy of study. In accordance with much of this work, it is assured that (because it is not known as much because there has been no research) the one and only interest of girls is their relationships with the opposite sex.

> For the adolescent girl as well as for the adult woman, relationships with the opposite sex and those personal qualities with affect the ability to establish such relationships are central in importance. Dating, popularity with boys, pulchritude, 'charm', clothes and dancing are preoccupations so central and so obvious that it would be useless pedantry to attempt to document them (Cohen, 1955:147).

Brake (1985), unlike many of the researchers writing within the traditional model, begins to identify gender as a problem to be explained for both females and males. He goes so far as to devote an entire chapter to gender, 'The invisible girl: the culture of femininity versus masculinity'. Yet even here, he spends more space and time on issues of masculinity and machismo and what that means both for boys and for girls. Although limited in his view on gender this is an important contribution. The downfall here is that Brake does not carry it through. He fails to link his approach in this chapter to the other chapters in the text. This one chapter appears merely tacked on to a series of chapters which otherwise views gender as unproblematic and taken-for-granted.

The participation and involvement of girls in group activities and street life is at best viewed as contained within existing male cultures, but, more often than not merely overlooked. The bottom line is, girls are never referred to in their own right.

> Girls are present in male subcultures, but are contained within them, rather than using them to explore actively forms of female identity. The subculture may be a social focus, something to dress up for, and an escape from the restraints of home, school and work, but as yet no distinct models of femininity, which have broken from tradition, have evolved, although this may well happen when female-dominated subculture evolve (Brake, 1985:167).

Willis also suggests that women who partake in the culture of boys are usually in the company of a man. If there are unattached females in the group they are "allowed no real dignity or identity by men" (Willis, 1977:28). Brake (1980:vii) actually suggests that females do not have a youth culture and, "**if** they were in **need** of a culture of femininity, one would need to be developed". In the introduction of his book "The Sociology of Youth and Youth Subculture", Michael Brake writes:

> On the whole, youth cultures and subcultures tend to be some form of exploration of masculinity. These are therefore masculinized, ... I have tried to consider their effect on girls, and one distinct sign of the emancipation of girls from **the home**, will be the development of subculture exploring a new form of femininity. (Brake, 1980: vii, my italics)[8]

A Separate Sphere

Traditional youth culture researchers have argued that "girls are located in different contradictions... they may be peripheral in one sphere such as work, but they can be central in another such as the home" (Brake, 1985:168). They have gone so far as to assume female youth's place <u>is</u> in the home and not the street:

[8] What is particularly interesting to note here is that in Brake's second book published in 1985, <u>Comparative Youth Cultures</u> the statement remains intact.

> Girls culture becomes a culture of the bedroom, the place where girls meet, listen to music and teach each other make-up skill, practise their dancing, compare sexual notes, criticise each other's clothes and gossip (Frith, 1978:66).

No where is this more evident than in the words of Michael Brake when he refers to a cult of femininity as the non-work-dominated identity (Brake, 1985:164). Boys on the other hand, mediate the private and public spheres of home and street, by moving between the street and the house. Corrigan (1979) speaks of how on a typical Saturday night boys go to each others houses, they talk for a bit and stay a while, then they go out and hang around on the street corner, then they go to another mate's house and watch the telly. Two examples as told by the boys themselves from Corrigan's (1979:122) study illustrate this point:

> I just go down me friend's house and we all stop in there for a bit and watch television, and we just go out and call for some other mates, go down to the shop and buy some chips and come back and watch telly.

> Well, it's like this. I go out with me friends, we walk about, we might go in one of the houses and then we come back in and watch football on telly.

In summation, in each of the above reviewed works, girls are depersonalized --- they are invisible, irrelevant and peripheral to boys. This subordination of girls to boys is simply taken for granted. No attempt is ever made, within these works, to analyze or provide any insights into the nature of this relationship. Therefore, the interpretations and understanding of youth culture which resulted from these studies are inevitably distorted, not only because they treat girls as invisible or marginal, but because they generalize an understanding of youth culture to mean 'street-culture'. It may very well be that this incomplete picture has led to an acceptance of a home-based/street-based youth culture divide. Given this hegemonic focus, it is easy to see how the 'history of youth culture' has become the 'history of street culture'. The 'public sphere', the sphere of the street, the sphere of male activity, is the sphere in which the 'history' of youth culture has traditionally been made. "The reason women do not

appear in" this youth culture "history is because women's" culture "has located them outside the public sphere" (Smith, 1979:18) of youth culture activity.

This notwithstanding, from these classic works, on how the 'street wise' youth make sense of their lived experiences, it is still possible to begin to develop a theory about normative youth culture, which includes both boys and girls. Brake (1985), for example, has introduced such concepts as consumerism, race, social values, urbanism and social reality to provide a more indepth understanding of youth. Corrigan (1979) illustrates the importance of understanding and incorporating the most common and intense activity engaged in by a majority of young people ---the simple but absorbing activity of 'doing nothing', of simply 'passing the time' (Corrigan, 1976:103). Frith (1978) provides insights into some of the mechanisms of control in contemporary society which may affect the life-world of male youth and in particular female youth: inherent violence in delinquent subcultures, greater parental control of daughters than sons and fear on the streets. Willis' work is very influential for our understanding of the importance of resistance and the contradictions in the life-world experiences of youth. The developing of one's own culture through resisting another, in effect, becomes its own form of social control.

Although limiting, the notion that youth culture can be analyzed in terms of opposed private and public spheres is not limited to mainstream researchers. It is also evident in much feminist youth culture literature. To different degrees, both the traditional and feminist models rest on a socially created separation between public and private.

THE PRIVATE WORLD OF GIRLS: FEMINIST MODEL

To suggest that much of the traditional research on youth culture emphasizes the experiences of males rather than females, or that such research has been preoccupied with the relations between working class and deviant or resistant male youth and that such prevailing definitions of youth culture as visible and deviant are inappropriate for the majority of women and for a good proportion of men, is not

new[9]. As early (or late) as 1976 two British sociologists, Angela McRobbie and Jenny Garber (p. 206) claimed: "Very little seems to have been written about the role of girls in youth cultural groupings in general, they are absent from the classic subculture ethnographic studies." A decade later, Sue Lees (1986) writes: "Few studies of adolescent girls exist and little is known about how girls experience life..." Since McRobbie and Garber made their claim, studies of young women in Britain, the United States and Australia have come to the foreground; however, the research is minimal. Even more recently studies have begun to surface in Canada. Two studies in particular will be examined here: Myrna Kostash's (1987) research on the inside world of teenage girls and Janelle Homes and Eliane Leslau Silverman's (1992) national research about teenage girls coming of age.

A common feminist response to the 'facts' as outlined by traditional perspectives on youth has been to deny their weight and argue that the evidence reflects male bias, and in effect, a celebration of machismo. Through the course of their research on the everyday lives of girls Angela McRobbie and Jenny Garber (1976) develop a specific theory of female culture. They are credited with bringing attention to the lack of research on the role of girls in youth cultures. In developing a theory of female youth culture, McRobbie and Garber have extended the phenomena of youth culture. Their argument begins by stating how young women are not only individually oppressed by their everyday youth experiences and encounters with boys, they are also socially oppressed through the youth culture research process itself. Feminists, generally, attribute the patriarchal structure of society as contributing to the conceptualization of 'culture' as male culture. This in turn has contributed to the omitting of female youth culture, on the one hand, and to the particularising and subjugating of young women's experiences on the other.

Feminists, such as McRobbie and Garber, who have argued that such findings are biased, sexist and oblivious to the interests of girls, suggest that there is indeed an autonomous female youth culture. They argue that it has been primarily due to the limited focus on more visible public/street culture activities to the exclusion of more private/familial youth culture activities (Brenzel et al., 1985; McRobbie and

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[9] I have briefly outlined the traditional model only to the extent that it is necessary to delineate what is known about more public street-based youth culture and to provide a context for the feminist reaction and emphasis on familial, home-based culture.

Garber, 1976) which has led mainstream researchers to the false conclusion that girls do not have or do not participate in a youth culture of their own.

> If women are marginal to the male culture of work (middle and working class) it is because they are central and pivotal to a subordinate area, which mirrors, but in a complementary and subordinate way the 'dominant' masculine arenas. They are 'marginal' to work because they are central to the subordinate, complementary sphere of the family (McRobbie and Garber, 1976:211).

McRobbie and Garber's view echoes that of Georg Simmel who himself was conscious of women's oppression within the private sphere. He describes the sexes in terms suggesting an analysis based on complementary spheres:

> Up to now the sociological position of the individual woman has certain peculiar elements. The most general of her qualities, the fact that she was a woman and as such served the functions proper to her sex, caused her to be classified with other women under one general concept. It was exactly this circumstance which removed her from the processes of group-formation in the strict sense, as well as from actual solidarity with other women. Because of her peculiar functions she was relegated to activities within the limits of her home... (Simmel, 1955: 180).

A Complementary Sphere

By focusing on the everyday lives of female youth, through a feminist epistemology[10] when collecting data, feminist researchers, such as McRobbie and Garber, have begun to reinterpret more everyday experiences. McRobbie and Garber argue that girls do have their own cultural forms of expression. One of the most important loci for the youth cultural pursuits of girls revolves around the domestic/social sphere ---the bedroom culture of music, chit chat and good friends. In "Girls and Subcultures" (1976) McRobbie and Garber argue, if we want to know about teenage femininity or about female youth culture, we need to begin by turning away from traditional male subcultures to the terrain of domestic life. They argue that understanding the marginality of girls in the active, male-focused leisure cultures tells us little about girls. What is more important is to understand the "strongly present position of girls in the 'complementary' but more passive sub-cultures" (McRobbie and Garber, 1976:211). McRobbie and Garber are not suggesting that girls never leave the confines of the home. They of course do go out. Girls date, they go out to the pubs, they visit girlfriends' homes, they attend parties and they go to youth clubs. What girls do not do as much is 'hang about' or become involved in 'street corner' activities.

> while boys could spend a lot of time 'hanging about'... the pattern for girls was ...more firmly structured between being at home, preparing... to go out on a date, and going out (McRobbie and Garber, 1976:213)

Following the pioneering work of McRobbie, other feminists have also directed their research "toward the family as the pivotal point around which the existence" (Carter, 1984:186) of a culture of femininity centres. Through a similar ethnographic research approach to McRobbie, Sue Lees argues that the bedroom

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[10] A feminist epistemology argues that the only means of obtaining unbiased knowledge is through an understanding and analysis of women's own direct experience (Harding, 1986). For example, McRobbie and Garber conducted an ethnographic study which was "a kind of response or reply to Paul Willis's influential Learning to Labour ..." (McRobbie, 1991:x).

culture is a form of adjustment, "... an adjustment to their expected feminine role which, by and large, is anticipated to centre on the home" (1986:60). The idea that the culture of girls takes place within a separate but analogous sphere, to the street, is also evident in Canadian research. Kostash (1987) gives an indication of the importance of the bedroom culture, through her own ethnographic work, of some fifty female youth in Edmonton, Vancouver and Toronto.

> A girl's leisure starts here, within the walls of her own bedroom. If she has a telephone extension, this is where she'll talk to her friends, at great length, and, if they visit, where she'll invite them to sit and drink diet pop and listen to the tape she just bought, and give counsel regarding a certain pair of pants and a pair of boots... (Kostash, 1987:341).

Griffiths (1988) suggests that the bedroom culture is a form of resistance "a way of resisting pressures to spend all their time with boyfriends" (1988:54). Once again, we see, through Griffiths' view, how female culture is defined in terms of boys. Female culture is based upon a retreat from male-defined situations into an alternative culture of 'femininity'. This view is best exemplified by one of the girls in Kostash's study. As expressed by Rea:

> I prefer my own company, or my girlfriends'. It's more relaxed than with boys. You don't have to put on a front (Kostash, 1987:33).

Griffin et al. (1982) suggest an alternative and perhaps more important and exclusively female space for girls (one that continues into adulthood):

> The most important space in the school for girls is the toilets. Characteristically, bathrooms are the only women-only spaces in our society. Male bars or clubs, football matches and the night out with the lads, even the streets to hang around at night ---have no female equivalent (Griffin et al., 1982:104).

Kostash points out that there may indeed be a female equivalent, in Canada anyway. Kostash confirms with the British studies that the youth culture of boys develop out of the house, on the streets and in other public places; whereas, girls, on the other hand, are more restricted and therefore develop their own cultural forms of expression within adult controlled institutions of their friends' homes, school dances, their own homes and, for the Canadian teenage girls, the mall:

> When a girl wants to have fun, she goes out. She goes to the mall. After the last class in the morning, after the last class of the day, she goes to the shopping mall. She goes there to see her friends, ...to be with them on her **own** time, to sit around a small table..., keeping one eye on who is coming and going. She goes to the mall so as not to go straight home, so that for an hour or so she's got some time that belongs neither to the school nor to her parents nor to an employer. She goes there on weekends..., to walk up and down in front of the shops comparing notes with a friend about what's cool and what's not, and what would look best on her.... The mall is her community centre... (Kostash, 1987: 232-234).

The Regulation and Control of Female Culture

In "Working Class Girls and the Culture of Femininity" McRobbie extends the argument of marginality and exclusivity. Previously McRobbie and Garber argued that their research evidence suggested that "the majority of girls organise their social life almost as an alternative" to that of boys (McRobbie and Garber, 1976:216). Here, McRobbie begins to examine differences within the cult of femininity. She takes into consideration how relations of power and control operate differently on adolescent women from working class and middle class backgrounds. Specifically, McRobbie outlines the ways in which class division within the school has a direct bearing on the girls' experiences and culture of femininity. Both working class and middle class girls share a common interest in femininity; but, due to more narrow material horizons, the cult of femininity for working class girls is even more oppressive. Similar findings are outlined by Griffin et al. (1982):

> ...the leisure of girls is restricted materially and physically in a way quite unlike that of boys. While middle class girls may have more money to spend on recreation... most working class girls don't even have access to these types of leisure pursuits. Their lack of money... fundamentally restricts them to their own bedrooms, or friends of their locality (Griffin et al., 1982:105).

In more recent inquiries, research by Christine Griffin (1985) exemplifies that not only is class an important part of what constructs and constrains female identity but so is ethnicity. Griffin is concerned with both class and ethnic variations, in the cult of femininity, as she traces the lives of working class girls from leaving school to work. Kostash's (1987) Canadian study also demonstrates the influence that class and ethnicity play in the conditions and life chances of young girls.

> While for most girls it is the approval or the disapproval of the peer group that controls so much of their dating activity, for the daughters of immigrant parents it is the family that intervenes most decisively. Parents from Mediterranean and Asian cultures have still not ceded their right to exercise authority over their children... (Kostash, 1987:122).

The above research gives us an indication that although gender is an important part of what constructs and constrains human identity, "its influence is heavily dependent on other cultural institutions, ideologies and ideals" (Rhode, 1990:5). This all leads us to suggest that instead of accepting the belief that girls have a youth culture of their own, and boys have a youth culture of their own, we must consider the cultural and structural forces beyond the scope of girls' and boys' individual lives, that restrict their access to the presently defined public world of youth culture.

Focusing on how structures of control in society generally (class, gender, ethnicity) construct, organize and define the social construction of female youth culture is a macrosociological approach to the study of the life-world of youth. However, such an approach cannot fully capture the ways in which youth enact their lives and give meaning to them. To understand how youth perceive, evaluate, and

carry out their lives, and to grasp the ways in which they cope with the opportunities and constraints imposed by the structure of the larger society, requires the inclusion of a microsociological approach which focuses on relations of control in the family, in the peer group and within the self. Research by Nava (1984), Griffiths (1986) Lees (1986) and Kostash (1987) has begun to make inroads in this direction. These works illustrate how female culture is moulded and shaped in particular ways by family, peers, normative regulations, fear, violence and sexuality. For example, girls are under greater supervision by parents, they are expected to do more work within the home and they are constantly made aware of the physical dangers which are prevalent in 'male territory' (Griffiths, 1988; Griffin, 1985; Kostash, 1987; McRobbie, 1991). All these factors conspire to construct and restrict the youth culture experiences of girls indoors.

> ...their lives are more highly structured than their male peers and their actions are closely monitored.... The girls are firmly rooted in the home and local environment and lack the social knowledge and expertise which derives from being able to visit and explore...by themselves in the ways boys can.... They are trapped in the safe, secure environment of the home, the club and the school, and they compensate for this lack of space by creating a culture based on each other, rather than on **doing things** together (McRobbie, 1991:37).

Griffiths (1986) illustrates the importance of understanding these restrictions placed on girls and the effect this has on their leisure time. Griffiths outlines three gender-specific restrictions in her research on the social pursuits of 51 teenage girls in the North of England: (1) domestic responsibilities are a taken-for-granted fact in the lives of teenage girls, (2) parental fears about safety contributes to a lack of freedom for girls at night, in which they are expected to be home earlier than boys who can go out and stay out longer and (3) youth clubs are dominated by boys (1988:50).[11]

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[11] Similar constraints were suggested by Frith (1978) for the absence of girls from the traditional male subcultures. First, parents exert greater control over where girls spend their spare time and with whom they spent it than over boys. Second, girls

Mica Nava's (1984) study of service provisions for young people in urban Britain illustrates the distinctive mode in which girls are regulated and policed, not only within the family and the schools (as outlined by McRobbie, 1978 and Griffiths, 1986), but also in the public and less structured context of the youth clubs and the streets. Within the home, the behaviour, time, labour and sexuality of girls is regulated and controlled by parents. On the street and in the clubs her behaviour is controlled and regulated by both boys and girls, through references to an 'ideal type' of femininity:

> In this culture outside the home, girls are observers of boys' activity and boys are observers and **guardians** of girls' passivity. The ability to exercise this control does not usually reside within the individual boy. Such power is located in groups of boys (and girls) who ... are able to ensure 'appropriate' masculine and feminine behaviour (Nava, 1984:12).

Similar arguments have subsequently been made by Lees (1986) who suggests that the teenage girls' 'social life' is still defined in terms of boys and boys' activities. When teenage girls enter the 'public domain' of male culture (a culture of bars and clubs) they do so either with their boyfriends or with a group of male friends. It is not a culture they feel comfortable entering on their own or with a group of girl friends.

> Without a boyfriend, a girl's social life is restricted. Many girls hesitate to go out on their own ---even if they have parental approval ---or even with a girlfriend ...The terms on which they participate in pub life are different, and to drop into a pub would be interpreted differently for a girl than for a boy (Lees, 1986:76).

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are constrained by their domestic role in the home. And third, girls' out-of-home leisure activities are constrained by the time they spend in preparation for these very same activities (Frith, 1978:64).

Kostash (1987) similarly argues for the importance of males to a girls' social life:

> Girls wanting to live among males are learning who it is they have to please and flatter and cultivate, in order to live in a socially successful manner, and it is no longer each other. By the age of sixteen and seventeen, it is already obvious that males control social power, ...and a girl's identification with female friends is at best profitless and at worst prejudicial to her best interests (Kostash, 1987:37).

These studies of girls' culture still fail to articulate a composite portrait of gendered youth culture. All have limited themselves to the examination of girls and their culture. This, for the most part, has been a reaction to the abundance of research on the youth culture of boys --- an attempt perhaps to redress the balance in youth culture research. In many circumstances this is a highly laudable approach but when concerned with 'youth culture' such an approach has its own failings. The value of this type of research is that it shows then when we measure female culture against male culture we fail to grasp important structural facts which may, in fact, influence the youth culture pursuits of women. But while this point is an important one, the tendency to ignore males in order to permit an understanding of the everyday lives of female youth has led some feminist researchers to forget (ignore) that men and women ultimately live together in the world, and are socially constructed "in relation to" the oppressive sex.

Nonetheless, although these researchers limit their analyses to the cultural activities of girls, and hence fail to take into account the interactions of boys and girls (with the exception of Nava (1984) and Lees (1986)) and what that might possibly mean in terms of youth culture and gender identity, the issues they address are invaluable. Unlike much of the mainstream research on youth culture, feminist researchers first and foremost analyze and interpret the culture of girls and second, they do not restrict their analyses to the delinquent and 'deviant' forms of culture. They further tend more to challenge the dominant ideology and hence work toward change rather than mere description and understanding prevalent in the mainstream research of youth. Feminist research also tends to provide an increased awareness that gender, ethnicity and class interact in complex ways to shape girls' lives.

What we now need to do is incorporate both the differences between and

within female and male social experiences of the everyday world (Eichler, 1977; Smith, 1987). The youth culture pursuits of girls and boys cannot be studied in isolation. Undeniably, conclusions drawn in the research reviewed above illustrate the existence of autonomous male and female youth cultures. However, it is not enough to end the argument there. There are too many exceptions to the rule to be satisfied with the conclusion that there exist two distinct and autonomous youth cultures. Perhaps it is less that there are two distinct polarized culture but rather a continuum of cultural forms of expression where female and male roles frequently overlap.

In more specific and local terms, little attention has been directed to sex-gender relations and youth culture, particularly normative youth culture, in Canadian context.

THE CANADIAN SITUATION

Brake (1985) argues that Canadian youth culture has been ignored largely because it lacks the 'dramatic socially visible form' that youth cultures take in Britain and the United States. He argues that youth cultures in Canada tend to be viewed as 'surface level' cultures. Brake characterizes surface level cultures as the Mods in Winnipeg, the punks in Ottawa and British Columbia. These are cultures which are viewed as 'superficial' alien cultures rather than cultures which develop from class or ethnic origins. Straw (1986) similarly argues that in Canada there is an absence of indigenous sub-cultures which express resistance, in the way in which resistance is central to cultural practices as conceived in British sub-cultural theory.

It is very much the case that the Canadian youth situation is different from that of Britain and for that matter from the United States.

> Compared to youth in other parts of the world Canadian youth are distinguished by a high level of education and a high standard of living. They have a vast array of choices open to them, many which are guaranteed by law (Special Senate Subcommittee on Youth, 1985:1.30).

Other ways in which the youth situation in Canada differs from that of Britain is in terms of part-time employment. For North American high school students, part-time employment is the norm, with the majority of students working anywhere from 10 to 30 hours per week (Baker, 1985; Greenberger and Steinberg, 1986; Lowe and Krahn, 1990).

This is not to suggest that there are no highly visible 'street cultures' as identified by the classic youth culture studies of the 1970s [See for example research by Stephen Baron (1989, 1991) on Canadian west coast punk subcultures]. However, as suggested by both Brake (1985) and Straw (1986) much of Canada's 'youth culture' does fall under the rubric of 'conformist' culture[12] ---a culture which revolves around sport, hobbies, television, movies, work, dating and friends.

In the introduction of this chapter it was suggested that there exists little research on Canadian 'youth culture' per se. This is not to suggest that no studies exist on young people in Canada. Although few researchers have theoretically explored the range of influences and experiences of Canadian young people, several government reports and academic studies exist which address particular and isolated youth activities. There are studies on leisure participation (Baker, 1989; Frenette, 1985), sport participation (Canada Fitness Survey, 1983; Hall, 1981), alcohol, cigarette and drug use (Baker, 1985; Canada House of Commons, 1987; King et al., 1985; Siggner, 1988[13]), part-time work experience (Gaskell, 1988; Krahn and Lowe, 1990), delinquency (Hagan, 1988; Hagan, Simpson and Gillis, 1987; Tanner, 1978; Tanner and Krahn, 1991), street culture (Baron, 1989, 1991) and pop-media culture (Shaw, 1986; Tanner, 1978). What is missing from the Canadian literature are studies which address in any systematic way the combined and diverse youth culture pursuits. What does not, as of yet, exist is a theoretically grounded and empirically comprehensive study of some of the determinants of what is taking place in the everyday lives of Canadian young people.

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[12] Baron (1989:297) has suggested that even within the Canadian 'punk subculture' there exists a 'conformist orientation' (along side the rebel and retreatist orientation) ---a belief in the value of education, a good job and a legitimate means of gaining monetary rewards.

[13] Many of these government studies are part of a larger study of Canadians in general, and are not specifically focused on Canadian youth.

These isolated studies are important for the present study. They provide important baseline date on a variety of aspects of youth culture which make it possible to formulate questions and define for the current study what indeed constitutes youth culture in Canada.

Existing Canadian Research on Selected Youth Culture Activities

The Canadian fitness survey (1983) concludes that 60 percent of males and 65 percent of females age 18-19 spend on average more than 3 hours per week engaged in physical activity. The most common activities for both females and males are jogging and working out. Thirty-two percent of females and 24 percent of males state that being involved in social activities is very important to them personally. It gives them an added feeling of well-being. The same report indicates that 48 percent of males and 29 percent of females (18-19 yrs.) consume alcohol at least once a week. The National Alcohol and Other Drugs Survey (1990) and the General Social Survey (1991) also reports that a larger proportion of males than female youth are current drinkers, and that they also tend to 'binge' drink, to consume more alcohol per drinking occasion. The two most prominent occasions for drinking for both females and males, although once again more so for males, are when going out to a bar and at parties (Health and Welfare Canada, 1990). Others have found that males, more than females, feel obligated to drink on social occasions, even if they would rather not (Siggner, 1988).

Similar female/male trends are evident for illicit drug use. Approximately 14 percent of males compared to 10 percent of females at age 15-19 indicate marijuana use in 1989. For those at age 20-24 the percentages increase to 24 percent for males and 13 percent for females (Health and Welfare Canada, 1990).

In a document which explores the social integration of Canadian young people Carmen Frenette (1985) outlines various leisure activities engaged in by Canada's youth. Frenette divides these activities into four central groupings: media, participatory, social and relaxing/planning/reflecting activities. She looks at these in terms of participation rates based on a variety of socio-demographic variables. She concludes that on average females and males spend equal amounts of time engaged in leisure activities (approximately 70 hours per week for youth at age 15-24). The

greatest proportion of this leisure time is spent watching television, listening to music and reading magazines (27.2 hours or 40% of their leisure time). Similar conclusions were drawn previously by the Special Senate Subcommittee on Youth, February, 19, 1986. Participatory leisure, engaging in volunteer work, physical activities, hobbies, playing musical instruments, doing art work, etc. takes up less than 20 percent (or 13.5 hours) of youth's leisure time (Frenette, 1985). Approximately 25 percent (or 16 hours) is spent in social pursuits: going out, visiting friends and family; and, 11 percent (or 7.3 hours) is spent relaxing and reflecting. In a 1978 study of 733 Canadian high-school students' involvement in two anti-school peer cultures, Tanner tentatively concluded that 'pop media culture', a culture of music, movies and magazines, is a more important form of expression for girls and middle class boys than is 'street-culture'; but, overall concluded that there are greater gender than social class differences.

More Comprehensive Canadian Research

The most comprehensive study of Canadian youth, to date, is a 1984 cross-Canada survey on the perceptions, attitudes and behaviours of 3,530 Canadian high school students, aged 15 to 19 (Bibby and Posterski, 1985). Bibby and Posterski focus on a range of topics of interest and concern to Canada's youth: values, enjoyment, personal concerns, sexuality, family and friends, beliefs, hopes, aspirations and expectations. The research results, in general, portray a very positive and 'conformist' (as opposed to rebellious) image of Canadian young people. For example, some of the conclusions drawn by Bibby and Posterski were that the most important and valued aspect of young people's life is friendship; teenagers get their greatest enjoyment and spend most of their leisure time listening to music (9 out of 10 teens report listening to music regularly); sports, both individual and team, fulfil an important role in their lives (44% of males and 37% of females engage in non-team sports, whereas, 50% of males and 29% of females engage in team sports); as these youth mature, relationships with the opposite sex, cars and part-time jobs take on an increasingly important role (approximately 20 percent indicated that cars were important, 40 percent of these young people held a part-time job). Table 1 outlines some of the male/female differences in the leisure pursuits reported by Bibby and Posterski. What is notable in Table 1 is that although there is indication of different

female and male activities there is little evidence of completely separate male/female leisure pursuits. For example, a larger proportion of girls spend time day dreaming, thinking and reading magazines and a larger proportion of boys are involved in a variety of sports, video, television, and computing activities; but, none of these activities are exclusive to any one gender. In terms of issues of personal concern, future aspirations rank as the number one personal issue troubling teens. Other issues of concern are money, independence, looks, loneliness and sex. Given this very broad-based focus, Bibby and Posterski's study a very general portrait of the life-world of Canadian youth.

TABLE 1

LEISURE ACTIVITIES OF CANADIAN TEENAGERS BY GENDER, 1984

	% Reporting "Very Often	
	Male	Female
Listen to music	89	92
Watch television	61	53
Daydream	43	59
Sit and think	35	54
Dance	32	56
Attend parties	40	39
Follow sports	58	29
Non-team sports	44	37
Team sports	50	29
Work out	40	35
Attend sport event	32	22
Read newspaper	41	34
Follow the news	41	29
Hobbies	36	34
Read magazines	29	36
Read books	19	39
Youth group	14	19
Movies	15	19
Video arcade	20	7
Home video games	17	7

(Source: Bibby and Posterski, 1985:40)

Other work which focuses on everyday youth culture in Canada is that of Holmes and Silverman (1992). Similar to the work of Bibby and Posterski (1985), Holmes and Silverman (1992) conducted a national survey of 3,200 students in grades 8,9 and 10 in 1990. The survey covered a number of topics: self-esteem, health, sexual abuse, stress, future aspirations, families, friends, school, paid work, unpaid work. Although the data were collected from both male (1,604) and female (1,603) high school students, the survey We're Here, Listen to Us! addresses the everyday issues, concerns and needs of young women. This study challenges many of the popular cultural images, stereotypes and myths of the female high school student. The most important conclusion from this research, and specifically important in the present study is that "to dismiss" girls "as some different order of creature is to really not hear them" (Silverman, 1992:A3).

What is particularly striking about the research by Bibby and Posterski (1985), Kostash (1987) [discussed under the feminist model], Holmes and Silverman (1992), as well as among several government reports (Baker, 1985; Frenette, 1985; Goldfarb, 1983), is the emphasis on conformist youth culture endeavours.

The description of youth culture activities in Canada presented in the above review raises a number of questions for the current investigation. Specifically, given the varied youth culture pursuits, is it appropriate to distinguish between an autonomous female and male youth culture? Second, what are some of the cultural and structural forces beyond the scope of both girls' and boys' individual lives that restrict or inhibit their rate of participation in some activities while not in others? Research by Frenette (1985) and, Kostash (1987) suggest both class and ethnic variations in the leisure pursuits of young people. Tanner's (1978) study of high school youth' involvement in 'street' and 'pop-media' cultures found gender, but not social class, to be a significant influence on the relationship between school commitment and involvement in either variety of youth culture. Third, to what extent are gender differences in the isolated youth culture activities modified by processes of control? Elements of control which may connect and define appropriate gendered youth culture pursuits have been neglected. The vast majority of these studies are descriptive. Few of them provide any theoretical understanding of the everyday life-world of Canadian youth.

We need to go beyond a bivariate understanding of gender differences in isolated youth activities and look at what Cynthia Fuchs Epstein (1988) refers to as

deceptive distinctions. Is it more than simply gender differences? We need to stress not the activities of women or of men alone; instead we need to convey the ways in which a sexual division in all youth culture pursuits is bound up with and modified by processes of control which operate in the family and peer group, for example, and define appropriate gendered youth culture pursuits. These processes of control have been examined within the delinquency literature (Hagan et al., 1987; Hagan et al., 1987, Hagan, 1988; Wells and Rankin, 1985) but have tended to be neglected in terms of their influence on more conformist behaviour. The failure to acknowledge how processes of control operate to define normative youth culture stems from an ideology about some behaviours being 'naturally' feminine and others masculine and hence unalterable. This has contributed to much of the confused thinking about youth culture (Lees, 1986; Nava, 1984).

Discovering women's youth culture sphere (as outlined by the feminist model) was a first step. Now we need to expand our thinking about youth culture even further. What is important for the purposes of this thesis is a sociological conceptualization of youth culture which reflects forms of social relations and controls that occur in a wide range of activities unbounded by dichotomous divisions.

CONTEXTUAL DIMENSIONS OF CONTROL

In addition to feminist theory of youth culture, components of social control theory are addressed which have heretofore been almost exclusive to the domain of street culture activity. What is proposed here is the importance of synthesizing feminist youth culture theory and social control theory for providing a sociological basis for explaining and improving our understanding of distinctions in normative gendered youth culture in Canada. It has been extensively argued, in the delinquency literature, that involvement in delinquent or risk-taking activities is related to a variety of indices of social control, ranging from direct/overt or instrumental control (direct monitoring and supervision) and indirect or relational control (bonds of affiliation, attachment and support) to a variety of socialized control (commitment and independence) factors (Hagan et al., 1978; Hagan, 1988; Hirschi, 1969; Nye, 1958). The significance of control relations within normative youth culture has consistently been neglected or at the very least underestimated as a potential

influence of more non-delinquent 'everyday' behaviour. In short, it is argued here that selected control correlates of youth delinquent behaviour and experience might also provide insight into the everyday gendered youth culture experiences.

Basic Tenets of Theories of Control

Hirschi's (1969) articulation of social control theory has been considered a significant contribution to the explanation of deviant behaviour. Rather than asking why do some people deviate, social control theory as developed by Hirschi asks the question why do most people conform. However as of yet, no one has fully incorporated these ideas into an examination of everyday normative youth culture.

According to Hirschi, deviance results from a lack of ties (or bonds) to conventional society. Hirschi's model identifies four elements of these bonds: (1) belief, the extent to which an individual internalizes the norms of conventional society. Hirschi believed that if a youth had a strong sense of the appropriateness of societal norms and standards, they would be more likely to conform to these norms; (2) attachment, the strength of one's ties, and the importance one holds to the opinions of significant others. The premise here is that individuals who are not strongly attached to others will also be insensitive to their opinions; (3) commitment, the degree to which rewards are tied to conformity. The committed youth is one who feels that it is important to pursue socially approved goals, such as occupational and educational goals, in order to get ahead in life; (4) involvement, the amount of time an individual spends in conventional activities. The idea here is that if youth are involved in conventional activities they will be "off the streets". These four elements combined 'bond' the individual to society. When all elements of the bond are intact, people are more likely to conform to conventional society.

Prior to Hirschi, Nye (1958) identified four types of social control: (1) direct control, refers to the physical restrictions and surveillance of behaviours by parents; (2) indirect control, is primarily based on the affectual ties with significant others (mainly parents); (3) internalized control, is based on the development of an autonomous self; and (4) control over opportunities, suggests that conformity is the result of restricted choices or alternatives.

The control theories briefly sketched above look to the family as a source of

prevention of deviant acts (Nye, 1958; Hirschi, 1969). It is argued within these models that to lose the respect, admiration and material benefits of the family is more detrimental than to lose the admiration and respect of the peer group. This is not to suggest that the peer group does not play a role, but rather, it is not as significant as that of the family. With respect to familial influence, both Nye and Hirschi conclude that direct parental control has little impact on delinquent behaviour. Familial control over youth is primarily in the form of indirect control or attachment. Others have disputed these results. Wells and Rankin (1988), for example, conclude that direct controls by parents are at least as effective as indirect controls or attachment. Wells and Rankin further suggest that the form of the relationship between direct parental control and delinquency is curvilinear; too much control and too little control both lead to higher levels of delinquency. On the other hand, they agree with previous research that, there does exist a consistent and moderate negative linear relationship between indirect parental control and delinquency (See Gold, 1977; Hirschi, 1969; Menard and Morse, 1984; Matsueda, 1982; Nye, 1958; Stinchcombe, 1964; Waitrowski et al., 1981). Still others claim that during the teenage years peers hold greater influence and control than do parents (Goodstadt, 1985).

In a more recent series of articles, Hagan and his colleagues (Hagan, 1988; Hagan, Gillis and Simpson, 1985; Hagan, Gillis and Simpson, 1990; Hagan, Simpson and Gillis, 1987) claim that a relationship exists between gender and risk-taking behaviour, and that this relationship is linked to power and control[14] also, within the family. Unlike Hirschi (1969), Nye (1958) and Wells and Rankin's (1988) formulation of control theory, here gender is critical in explaining parental control and the suppression of risk-taking behaviour. Hagan, Simpson and Gillis (1979, 1987, 1990) argue that the nature of social control within the family differs markedly for females and males and it is these differences which influence the opportunity for

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[14] In their theory of delinquency Hagan and his colleagues distinguish between two levels of analysis. Power theories are macrostructural theories which focus on relations of dominance established in the workforce. Control theories are microstructural theories which focus on relations of dominance in the home. Power-control theory asserts that relations of dominance in the workforce translates into relations of dominance in the home. Within this present research our focus is limited to the control component of the power-control thesis. Measures of parental occupation within our data set are not detailed enough to permit an accurate analysis of the power component of Hagan's model.

female and male involvement in risk-taking activities.

Hagan, Simpson and Gillis postulate an 'instrument-object relationship' in which mothers and fathers are the instruments of control in the family, and sons and daughters are the objects of control. The theory asserts that daughters are subject to greater controls (both instrumental and relational)[15] than are sons and as a result are less risk-seeking and more conforming than sons in their behaviours. In other words, it is not that daughters are inherently less risk-taking but rather that they are treated differently.

It is argued here that the results obtained by Hagan and his colleagues, as well as other social control theorists (Hirschi, 1969; Nye, 1958; Wells and Rankin, 1988), substantiate a need to consider female-male differences in the social control process more generally. Such mechanisms of control do not only operate in the process of deviance but also in everyday life. Yet, the significance of individual, peer and parental control relations within normative youth culture has been very much underestimated. Youth cultures for the most part tend to be viewed as a reflection of, or resistance to, class, ethnic, and more recently, gender groupings.

One of the purposes of this dissertation is to examine the question whether individual characteristics or parental and/or peer control factors contribute more substantially to differences in normative youth culture behaviour. To what extent do gender variations in educational commitment and financial independence from parents, for example, explain some of the variance in youth culture participation. Alternatively, to what extent do gender variations in peer group attachments or familial attachments influence youth culture behaviour[16]. A number of studies have

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[15] Hagan, Simpson and Gillis' concept of instrumental control corresponds conceptually to Nye's (1958) and Wells and Rankin's (1988) concept of direct control, in which both are concerned with the physical restrictions and surveillance of youth. Their concept of relational control is conceptually similar to the concept of indirect control as developed by Nye and later adopted by Wells and Rankin, as well as, the concept of 'attachment' as developed by Hirschi.

[16]Our data do not provide us the opportunity to examine if mothers are indeed more controlling than fathers (as outlined in the research by Hagan et al., 1978, 1985, 1987). However, we can look at the parental instrumental and relational control, peer relational control as well as structurally based control to determine if girls are indeed under greater control than boys and the effects that this may have on their youth

examined the transition from parental influence and control to peer influence during the teenage years; although, once again, the focus has been on the deviant or delinquent pursuits of teenagers.

Research of this nature is an attempt to understand the circumstances that lie behind gender differences in youth culture. Others have suggested that we cannot understand gender differences in youth culture without first understanding the background circumstances of the youth. To this end, they have examined some of the class, ethnic and gender based circumstances which structure the delinquent pursuits, sport, leisure and work pursuits of young people.

The present study attempts to go beyond the more macro structural control elements in the influence of behaviour, as outlined by much feminist research, to an assessment of the consequences of structural, parental, peer and socialized elements of normative youth culture activities. Circumstantial control, direct control, indirect control and socialized control should not be viewed as independent issues. They interact, they define a sphere of youth culture life that is strongly patterned. And for this reason, we need to explore whether girls' circumstances are different from those of boys along all four dimensions of control. It is proposed that, through an understanding of these connections, we will be better able to understand how youth culture is gendered.

The conceptual analysis proposed here implies that an understanding of youth culture cannot be bound only by existing traditional and feminist theories of youth culture but rather must be located in a wider range of youth culture activities, as well as within a variety of contextual dimensions of control. The reality of the cultural world of youth is the combination of family, peers, school, sport, leisure, work, deviance, street life, all within the context of structural and cultural elements of control.

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culture pursuits. It is hypothesized that girls who are under greater control will pursue more traditionally defined female youth culture pursuits, or girls who are under greater social control will be part of what has been defined by McRobbie as an autonomous female culture.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Given the empirical and theoretical concerns outlined in this chapter, specific research questions and corresponding hypotheses can now be specified.

(1) Much of the existing research on youth culture suggests that boys and girls partake in different youth culture pursuits. Traditional youth culture sociological research suggests that youth culture is an exclusive culture of boys and is mostly working class --- a culture which develops and takes place on the street. Girls are not actively part of this culture.

Feminist researchers contend that such findings are biased, sexist and oblivious to the interests of girls. They argue that there is indeed an autonomous female youth culture. It has been primarily due to the exclusion of the familial and domestic sphere by malestream researchers which led them to the conclusion that girls do not have or do not participate in youth culture. The culture of girls, as argued by feminist sociologists, revolves around the domestic/social sphere --- the bedroom culture of music, chit chat and good friends.

These existing studies have, for the most part, either focused on boys (traditional model) or girls (feminist model). This approach begs the question: To what extent have the previous research results on the dichotomization of youth culture been biased by the homogenous (same sex/same class) samples, case study design? And, does a large scale Canadian survey of female and male high school seniors illustrate a similar pattern?

H1: The youth culture pursuits of girls are sufficiently different from that of boys to warrant a private (home-based)/public (street-based) dichotomous analysis.

H2: Working class and non-English speaking families share a common interest in traditional gender role socialization. Therefore, youth from both working class and non-English speaking families are most likely to participate in traditionally defined female and male youth culture pursuits.

(2) To what extent can social control theory be extended to normative youth culture? What role does the family, peer and the self play in the development of Canadian youth culture? Feminists have argued that the family is the central location for the development of female youth culture. But what other roles does the family play, not only in terms of providing a site and opportunities (financial, class) but in terms of the control and encouragement parents exert over their children? What role does the peer group play? Do gender differences in peer group relations encourage more shared group activities among boys and more individual activities among girls, as suggested by Hunter and Youniss (1982) and Johnson and Aries (1983)? Are girls more kin-connected and boys more peer-connected as outlined by Chodorow (1978), Connell (1987), and Lamphere (1977) among others? Do boys and girls have different restrictions placed on them? Hagan suggests that in terms of deviance/delinquency girls are under the influence of more parental control which in turn restricts their deviant behaviour. Others suggest that girls are under greater social control in general (Connell, 1987; Frith, 1978; Griffiths, 1988; Kostash, 1987; McDaniel, 1987; Notar and McDaniel, 1986). Do these factors have an effect on particular forms of youth culture participation?

H3: Girls are under greater parental instrumental and relational control and therefore develop more home-centred than street-centred cultural forms of expression.

H4: Boys have stronger peer attachments than parental attachments and therefore develop more public than private cultural forms of expression.

H5: Socialized/consensual control factors of independence and commitment mediate the effects of gender on youth culture participation.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

In this chapter the purpose of the study has been defined within the context of existing youth culture research. In reviewing some of the relevant literature in the area of youth culture a few of the gaps in our understanding of Canadian youth culture have been identified. The diversity of youth experiences have not been adequately described previously, or identified and included within prevailing definitions of youth culture research generally or, more specifically in Canada. The inadequate portrayal of Canada's gendered youth culture has meant not only that existing findings and analysis of isolated and specific youth culture activities are potentially misleading, but also that our understanding of Canadian youth culture remains incomplete.

Second, the token recognition, marginalization, trivialization and omission of gender from malestream studies, illustrated here, has been the result of a series of patriarchal assumptions, "assumptions that only become visible when the experience of females is addressed" (Gaskell, 1988:146).

Third, it has been argued that it is not sufficient to only study girls and then conclude that, yes indeed, there is an autonomous female culture, quite distinct from that of boys. Male and female youth cultures do not exist in a vacuum, void of gender relations. It is not sufficient to view youth culture asymmetry as corresponding to a rough institutional division between home-based and public spheres of activity. It is argued that a more fully sociological analysis of youth culture means reconceptualizing the terms public and private, relocating youth culture debates in the context of a wider range of activities (including home, street, pub, club and part-time work activities, among a variety of others). Such an analysis would alter debates about youth culture by moving them beyond the narrow focus of the street versus home institutions. This alternative analysis may lead to a more sociologically informed theory of youth culture, since it sees youth culture as embedded in a full array of social relations and life-world experiences. It is only by looking into the everyday lives of Canadian youth that we can hope to provide an alternative way of looking at youth culture, and at women's role in it.

Fourth, the reader has been shown that it is not enough to simply 'add gender and stir' to the study of youth culture. There is a need to reconceptualize existing theories presently being applied to the study of youth culture. We need to take into

account the various structures and processes of control and their influence on gender. Elements of control which have previously been defined as correlates of deviant cultural behaviour may equally provide insights into non-deviant cultural forms. Differences in youth culture must be understood in social terms, as a by-product of structures and processes of control --class, ethnicity, gender, familial control, peer control and socialized control. Theories of youth culture must be able to take account of both men's and women's youth culture behaviour. They must also be able to highlight factors which operate differently on men and women. Therefore, we need to understand issues of social control and the use of micro and macro sociologies to increase our understanding of how knowledge is sustained and mediated and how structural constraints affect our everyday lives. Finally, it has been emphasized that a feminist interpretation of youth culture in Canada is of considerable relevance.

CHAPTER THREE

DATA AND METHODS

I begin this chapter with a discussion of the data, research design and various limitations. I then proceed with specifying the measurement of the theoretical constructs as employed in this study.

DATA AND RESEARCH DESIGN

Data for this study were obtained from the Youth Employment Study (YEMP). The data presented here[17] are from the first wave of the panel study that followed young people from three Canadian cities as they left school and moved into the formal labour market. The 2,229 high school students, all of whom are in their senior year, come from the cities of Edmonton, Sudbury and Toronto.

In total, twenty-five schools participated in the study: six were in Edmonton, seven in Sudbury, and twelve in Toronto. The sample included schools from both middle-class and working class neighbourhoods. The students within each of the individual schools were enroled in a variety of academic and vocational programs.

The questionnaires were distributed by a research team in the spring of 1985. Nine hundred and eighty-three Edmonton high school students, 492 students from Sudbury, and 754 students from the Toronto schools voluntarily completed the 30 minute questionnaire. In other words, 44% of the sample are from Edmonton, 34% are from Toronto, and 22% are from Sudbury. The students are all high school seniors from grade 12 in Edmonton and grade 13 in Toronto and Sudbury.[18] Given that one of the central foci of this study is to examine the relationship between family dynamics and the organization of youth culture, further sampling selection was

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[17] The data were obtained through a strategic sampling design using the high schools as the primary sampling unit. For more information on the original and complete study design, see Krahn (1988).

[18] In 1985 high schools in the province of Ontario went to grade 13; hence, a significant proportion of youths in the study are 19 years of age.

necessary. The specific sample for this research project consists of single senior high school students who were living at home. In delimiting the study in this manner it is not to suggest that all youth are single and live at home with one or more parents. It is acknowledged that while some youth will be attending school full time, others will be unemployed, or employed fulltime, although many may be living at home, others will live alone and others still may be married and have children. These are all factors that divide Canadian young people. Admittedly, only researching high school seniors who live at home may be one of the limitations of the present study. Yet delimiting ourselves in this way enables us to gain a clearer picture of both the structural and relational individual and familial influences on the life-world of a large number of Canadian young people.

In the end, the sample totalled 2074 high school seniors. There are slightly more males (56.2% n=1163) than females (43.8% n=907).

LIMITATIONS

There are a number of limitations inherent in this study. The limitations centre on the fact that the primary focus of the original longitudinal study was not on youth culture per se but rather of the transition from school to work. Therefore, as is always the case with secondary data analysis, there are limitations in the present research resulting from the different aims of the primary study. In particular, this study is restricted by the variety of youth culture activities which were included in the original design. First, the measurement of youth culture activities is somewhat arbitrary. For example, although a fairly detailed measure of how often the respondent watches television is provided, there are no similar measures of frequency of listening to music ---an activity which findings of other studies (Bibby and Posterski, 1985) suggest may be an important omission. Similarly we are unable to determine whether these and other activities occurred in isolation or while the respondent was engaged in other pursuits. An issue which may have significant gender consequences. However, unlike the previous research discussed in chapter 2, we did not restrict ourselves to the deviant and spectacular interests of young people or to the exclusive home-centred activities. Although not inclusive we have included a variety of everyday youth culture experiences.

There is also the problem of limited generalizability of the findings imposed by problems encountered in the early stages of the original data collection. A random sample of high school seniors could not be obtained given that access to all high schools within the three cities was not provided. Instead, a strategic sampling design with the school as the primary sampling unit was employed. The findings are further limited in their generalizability given the study sample is limited to high school seniors (no drop outs).[19] Also we only examine urban youth. It is therefore not possible to generalize to the population of Canadian high school students as a whole. These students nevertheless do represent 25 high schools in Canada as well as three different geographic and economic regions.

Despite the various limitations and caveats, the present study is able to report detailed information on a wide range of youth culture pursuits. Many previous studies of youth culture have taken/incorporated a case study approach: ours is a large cross-sectional survey. Some of the existing national sample Canadian studies are strictly descriptive and offer little in terms of theoretical interpretations. In spite of the several limitations mentioned above, this study therefore will provide a very detailed analysis of the structural and organizational dimensions of gendered youth culture within the Canadian context.

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[19] This is a particularly significant fact when we take into account the high school drop out rate in Canada is reported to be approximately 30 percent (Radwanski, 1987). Or that in the province of Ontario students are eligible to graduate from grade twelve and that across Canada as a whole students are not required to stay in school past the age of sixteen.

MEASUREMENT OF THEORETICAL CONSTRUCTS
YOUTH CULTURE INVOLVEMENT: DEPENDENT VARIABLES

The dependent variable in this study is youth culture involvement. The meaning of the term youth culture is quite variable, and at times confusing. There is no one definition of youth culture which is widely accepted. It has been defined in so many ways that no consensus has emerged. Brake (1980:ix), for example, begins by first suggesting that youth cultures are "an exploration of masculinity ... and therefore, masculinist". A few pages later he argues, the concept 'youth culture' is not an appropriate term for it presupposes a homogeneity amongst all those under thirty. There is instead, he suggests, "a complex kaleidoscope of several ... youthful subcultures appealing to different age and class groups, involving different life-styles... different self-images, values and behaviours" (Brake, 1980:8). More recently Brake (1985) suggests an even more narrow definition of youth culture when he argues that youth cultures provide a meaningful way of life during leisure. Youth cultures offer young people cultural elements such as style, values, ideologies and lifestyle which can be used to develop an identity outside of work, home or school. What this suggests, as does much 'youth culture' research, is that there is indeed a variety of youth cultures, but they are all male youth cultures. Abercrombie et al. (1984:227) define youth culture in terms of three distinguishing features: first, as a culture of leisure rather than work; second, in terms of social relationships organized around the peer group, not families or individual friends and; third as a group particularly interested in style. This view is consistent with some of the early work of CCCS (Brake, 1985; Clarke et al., 1976; Frith, 1981; Hebdige,1979; Corrigan, 1981) which concerned itself with the particular styles of music, dance, clothing, lingo and grooming of the mods, teddies, skinheads, punks, etc.--- the public/street culture image of youth, as outlined in the previous chapter. Raymond Williams (1961) on the other hand incorporates a very broad definition. Williams' work suggests that youth culture may be defined as 'the whole way of life of youth. The defining of youth culture in terms of specific leisure activities or in terms of non-work activities overlooks alternate forms of youth culture. An understanding of the reality of youth culture in Canada necessitates an understanding of part-time employment. This point is alluded to in some of the more recent research on the effects of part-time

employment on grades and aspirations (D'Amico, 1984; Greenberger and Steinberg, 1986) on delinquent behaviour (Tanner and Krahn, 1990). A 1986 U.S. study conducted by Greenberger and Steinberg, concludes:

> among seniors, the average worker was employed the equivalent of a half-time job; and nearly 10 percent worked the equivalent of a full-time job ---thirty-five hours or more per week. Thus well over half of high-school seniors hold at least the equivalent of a half-time job (Greenberger and Steinberg, 1986:21).

In Canada, Lowe and Krahn echo the sentiment:

> Part-time employment has been steadily increasing among North American high school students. The service economy's demand for a cheap, flexible and reliable pool of labour has fuelled a huge growth in student employment during the past decade. Consequently, part-time employment has become the norm among older high school students. For many teenagers, a part-time job is the financial key to participation in an increasingly consumption-oriented youth culture (Lowe and Krahn, 1990:1).

By predefining definitions of youth culture in terms of leisure, to the exclusion of work, we are not able to make sense of how Canadian young people experience their everyday lives. We need to think of youth culture as a continuum.[20] In doing so, we avoid the work/non-work dichotomy and the problem of public/private activity categorization. Conceptualizing youth culture in this way is a valid approach in that it is more meaningful and intuitively congruent with everyday life-world experiences of Canadian youth.

Within the context of this study, I am less concerned with defining a particular

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[20] My approach to the study of youth culture as an experience, which does not exclude part-time work is adopted from the work of Henderson, et al (1989) in their study of the leisure pursuits of adult women in the United States. Henderson and her colleagues argued that the conceptualization of leisure as an experience was the way that most individuals, both women and men, understood leisure in their own lives (Henderson et al, 1989:10).

term than with locating the experiences and parameters within the general area of youth culture. The term 'youth culture' is useful for preliminary descriptive purposes, but it is also imperative to include complex measures of youth activities and experiences when attempting to understand behavioural variations between female and male youth. Therefore, particularly useful for my purpose of understanding how young people experienced their everyday lives is the definition that youth culture includes a variety of sport, social, leisure and work experiences. Thus my definition of 'youth culture' becomes one which includes any and all 'out of school hour' experiences of Canadian youth.[21]

The defining of 'youth culture' in this manner is an attempt to get behind the myths, the explanations and concepts[22] (which have been presented as adequate for defining and understanding youth culture) which have distorted a true understanding of youth culture. These myths have been a product of malestream sociology.

Information on a number of youth culture activities was obtained in the original YEMP design. A series of twelve forced-choice items in the questionnaire were designed to measure aspects of high school seniors' youth culture involvement. The survey yielded reports on individual's participation in a number of youth cultural pursuits, ranging from part-time employment; club and sport participation; hanging out and cruising behaviour to the involvement in drug and illegal activities (*See Figure 3.1 for specific details on particular questionnaire items and coding procedures. *See Appendix A for specific frequency rates for each of the specific

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[21] Focusing on the time spent outside of school hours by no means suggests that what goes on in school or the mere fact of going to school does not constitute an aspect of youth culture.

[22] For example, by incorporating both the work/non-work experiences of youth, within a definition of youth culture, we are able to explore the kinds of constraints and opportunities for youth culture that are associated with their various relationships to the labour market as well as home based obligations. We can also take into account that there are differences in the employment opportunities of girls and boys. We are further able to explore the implications that this has for their youth experiences: amount of work performed inside versus outside the home; amount of money earned; influence that money earned will have on other youth culture pursuits; time available for other types of pursuits.

youth culture activities.)

Self-reported marijuana use and alcohol use are measured by respondents' answers to questions about frequency of use. Possible responses include 'never', 'less than once a month', 'once or twice a month', 'once a week', several times a week and 'everyday' (these were coded from 0 to 5). Preliminary analyses indicated small frequencies at each end of the scales. Therefore, marijuana and alcohol use is trichotomized into values corresponding to low (less than once a month), moderate (at least once a month but less than several times a week) and high (at least several times a week) usage.

Self-reported illegal activity is measured by respondents' answers to a question about the frequency of illegal activity in the past year. Possible responses include 'never', 'seldom', 'sometimes', 'often', and 'very often' (these were coded 0 to 4). As with alcohol and drug use, illegal activity is similarly trichotomized: low (never), moderate (have engaged but not often) and high (often or very often) frequency.

Part-time employment is measured by responses to two items. First, students were asked to indicate whether in the past nine months they had any paying job at all (1 'no' or 2 'yes'). Second, they were asked to state how many hours per week they usually work (Responses ranged anywhere from 2 hours per week to 72 hours per week). To create a measure of 'hours per week' worked a new variable was created combining the above two items. If respondents did not have a paying job they received a score of 1 (low level involvement); if they worked anywhere between one and twenty hours they received a score of 2 (moderate involvement); and greater than 20 hours they received a score of 3 (high level involvement).

Sport/exercise participation is measured based on the response to the question "Do you regularly engage in sports or other physical exercise?" Possible responses were 1 'no' and 2 'yes'.

Voluntary Community work is measured by responses to the question "Have you participated in any voluntary community work in the past four weeks?" This measure is similarly coded to sport participation.

Club/team involvement is measured by asking the respondents the number of clubs, organizations or teams they belonged to in the past year. Initial responses ranged from 0 to 7. These were then collapsed into three discrete categories: low (no club memberships), moderate (belong to one or two clubs), and high (belong to at least three clubs).

Dating behaviour is measured by responses to the question "How often do you go out on dates?" Responses on a five-point scale ranged from 'almost never' to 'more than once a week'. These were then collapsed to a three-point scale, measuring low (less than once a month), moderate (once or twice a month) and, high (at least once a week) frequency of dating behaviour.

Students were also asked about their hanging around time. Here students were asked "Not counting the time you spend at school (or at work), how much time do you spend just hanging around and doing nothing?" Possible responses ranged from 'hardly ever at all' (coded low), 'about half the time' (coded moderate) to 'most of the time' (high).

Cruising behaviour is measured by responses to the question "In a typical week, how many hours do you spend just riding around in a car, either by yourself or with friends?" Responses ranged from 0 hours to greater than 13 hours. These scores were then trichotomized into the low, moderate and high value system, with zero hours representing low cruising behaviour, one to five representing moderate cruising behaviour and greater than six hours indicating high cruising frequency.

Finally, students were asked about typical weekly television viewing. Once again there is great variation in the hours spent in front of the television. Responses ranged anywhere from between 0 hours to 98 hours per week. Less than 6 hours per week is coded as low, six to fifteen hours as moderate and greater than fifteen hours per week as high television viewing.

FIGURE 3.1

INDIVIDUAL YOUTH CULTURE QUESTIONNAIRE ITEMS AND CODING PROCEDURE

1. "How often in the past year have you been involved in any illegal activities (not counting traffic violations)?" (1) never (2) seldom (3) sometimes (4) often (5) very often

2. "How frequently do you drink beer, wine or other alcohol?" (5) everyday (4) several times a seek (3) once a week (2) once or twice a month (1) less than once a month (0) never

3. "How frequently do you smoke marijuana or hash?" (5) everyday (4) several times a seek (3) once a week (2) once or twice a month (1) less than once a month (0) never

4. "How many clubs, teams, or organizations did you belong to this year?"

5. "Do you regularly participate in sports or engage in physical exercise?" (1) no (2) yes

6. "In the past four weeks, have you done any voluntary community work?" (1) no (2) yes

7. "How often do you go out on dates?" (1) almost never, or never (2) less than once a month (3) once or twice a month (4) about once a week (5) more than once a week

8. "Not counting the time you spend at school (or at work), how much time do you spend just hanging around and doing nothing?" (3) most of the time (2) about half of the time (1) hardly ever at all

9. "In a typical week, how many hours do you spend just riding around in a car, either by yourself or with friends?"

10. "In a typical week, how many hours would you spend watching T.V.?"

11. "How may hours per week do you usually work?"

In addition to eleven closed-ended questions the data provide information on an additional forty activities engaged in by young people through an open-ended question format. Respondents were asked the question: "Thinking back to last weekend, can you briefly tell us what you did on (i) Saturday morning (ii) Saturday afternoon (iii) Saturday evening. Of the 2074 respondents a total of 1773 provided some type of response to this question. Initially each of the responses were recorded verbatim so that we might use the students actual responses to provide further insights into their youth culture experiences. However, given the large number of students who provided us with a more detailed picture of their youth culture experiences, the responses were later coded and quantified. The categories were constructed only after reading through each of the responses. The quantifying of these results enabled us to provide further detail on how young people spend their out-of-school hours. Figure 3.2 provides an outline of the variety of Saturday activities engaged in by high school seniors.

FIGURE 3.2
VARIETY OF SATURDAY ACTIVITIES

TV/video	movie
concert	party
weddings etc.	restaurant (dinner/coffee)
bar/lounge	drinking
visiting/talking	dancing (out)
went out (unspecified)	exhibition/fair
sports (team)	sports (individual)
watch live sports	club/organization activity
games/hobbies/computer	reading
music	indoor house chores
outdoor house chores	babysitting
errands	grocery shopping
shopping	went to mall
sleeping	homework
work	lying outside
beach/lake	sat around
date	sex
driving around	drunk/stoned/etc.
stayed home/relaxed	hangover
graduation/prom	on the phone
cannot recall	other

EXPLANATORY VARIABLES

ELEMENTS CONTROL: INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

The independent variables, for purposes of this study, fall into four categories: structural control factors, socialized control factors, parental control factors and, peer control factors. Each of these forms of control are closely related to ideologies of gender and gender-appropriate behaviour. The YEMP data provide detailed information on the above listed forms.

Structural Control Factors

Variables linked with parental, peer and socialized control include structural variables such as social class, ethnicity (Noller and Callan, 1991) and location of residence (Sebald, 1992). The presumption that class, ethnicity and city size may effect youth culture pursuits of Canadian young people is plausible given other research findings which document such influences. Recent studies have revealed that parents' class situation or socio-economic status explains a great deal of variation in the work (Deem, 1980; 1986; Gaskell, 1988; Greenberger and Steinberg, 1986; Griffin, 1985), leisure (Connell et al., 1982; Connell, 1983; Frith, 1978; McRobbie, 1978; McRobbie, 1990; McRobbie and Garber, 1976; Poole, 1986) and deviant or delinquent (Cloward and Ohlin, 1960; Hagan, 1988; Hagan, Gillis and Simpson, 1985; Hagan, Simpson and Gillis, 1987; Wiatrowski, Griswold and Roberts, 1981) behaviour of young people. Other studies reveal that one's ethnic background may also be an important explanatory factor (Frenette, 1985), but not necessarily so (Poole, 1986).

City is defined by the city in which the respondent lives. Three cities are represented in this study: Sudbury, Toronto and Edmonton. As the review of Canadian literature indicated, there is very little research into the way in which geographical factors may interact in the consumption and making of Canadian youth culture. Yet, as Straw (1986: 27) argues "... geography is one of the principal forces in the organization of cultural experiences within Canada". The data available for this study do not provide for any generalizable conclusions to be made, but they do permit a glance at possible urban differences. Sudbury is a small one-industry town, Toronto is a large metropolitan city, Edmonton is more of an intermediate size blue collar and government centred community. Living in larger urban centres many have certain effects on youth activities which differ from those in smaller urban centres --- access, for example, to sites of interaction like bars or cars and cruising behaviour. Research by Tanner and Krahn (1991) has already suggested that there are differences in alcohol and drug use between Sudbury youth and those in Edmonton and Toronto. Similar arguments can be made for other youth culture pursuits?

Family Type is dichotomized into either a dual parent headed household or single parent headed household. Given that less than three percent of the high school seniors reported living with their father only, no further distinctions are made in the latter category. Eighty two percent (1698) of the high school seniors were living with

both their mother and father, while, eighteen percent (376) were living with only one parent. The assumption at work here is that youth who are in a single-parent family versus a youth in a dual-parent family may very well have different degrees of control exercised over them. For example, the opportunity for greater parental control may be more apparent in dual-parent families.

Language Spoken at Home Restrictions encountered during the original study design [23] has limited this study in obtaining a measure of ethnicity. However, we do have a measure of 'language spoken at home'. Although 'language spoken at home' is a crude measure it does give us an indication of ethnicity and has been incorporated as such in other Canadian government studies (eg., Frenette, 1985). Approximately 25% (507) of the youth who participated in this study stated that the language spoken at home was not English.

Parents' financial Situation Parents' financial situation is measured by asking a forced choice question "How would you describe your parent's financial situation: poverty level, somewhat below average, average, somewhat above average or wealth?" Few respondents indicated that their parent's financial situation could be classified at poverty level or as wealth these were then collapsed so as to have a three level variable. The majority (55.7% n=1137) of students stated that their parents' financial situation was average. Thirty-five percent (713) claimed that their parents' financial situation was above average, and 9.3% (190) state it is below average. Although respondents in this sample are predominantly white and middle-class, there is sufficient variation.[24] Existing research does suggest that class affects the nature of parental socialization (Connell, 1987), which in turn may well affect the

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[23] In 1985 when phase One of the YEMP survey was introduced the research team was restricted from asking the students the ethnic origin of their mother and father in the cities of Edmonton and Sudbury.

[24] Although we would prefer to have a more objective measure of family class situation, due to high levels of non-response on measures of mother's and father's occupational and educational levels, this was not possible. On our measure of subjective family class situation we have 98.4% response rate. To determine validity of this measure the non-response values for measures of mother's and father's occupational and educational items were crosstabulated with our subjective measure. No clear pattern emerged which suggests that our measure is not particularly biased.

types of youth culture pursuits. Other studies conducted on the delinquent, leisure, sport and work pursuits of youth also suggest that class may contribute to differences in participation rates and types of activities pursued.

Parental Control Factors

Social control theory (as outlined in chapter 2) sees the family as an influential factor in suppressing deviant or risk-taking behaviour. For example, the more likely parents are to monitor their children's whereabouts the less likely their children will engage in deviant or risk-taking behaviour. Wells and Rankin (1988) argue that there is a curvilinear relationship between parental surveillance and deviant behaviour. Too much parental instrumental control or too little control both lead to high levels of deviant behaviour. Within the same tradition, others have argued that parental relational control (parental attachment) is the key factor in ensuring young people conform to conventional society (Hirschi, 1969; Nye, 1958; Matsueda, 1982; Waitrowski et al., 1981). These social control theorists argue that to lose the respect, admiration and material resources of the family is more detrimental than to lose the admiration and respect of the peer group. Hagan and his colleagues (1985, 1987, 1990) argue that not only does there exist a relationship between familial control and risk-taking behaviour but that this relationship is different for girls than for boys. Their theory asserts that daughters are subject to greater instrumental and relational control than are sons and as a result are less risk-taking and more conforming in their behaviour.

Other forms of social control are related to traditional gender role socialization in the family --- where girls are socialized for dependence and boys for independence (McDaniel, 1987; McDaniel, 1988). Newman and Murray (1983) conclude that young people whose parents are highly controlling are less likely to engage in identity exploration. A number of studies have shown that parents encourage identity exploration by emphasizing the importance of autonomy and independence in their children (Buri, Kirchner and Walsh, 1987; Geca and Schwalbe, 1986; Hoelter and Harper, 1987; Newman and Murray, 1985). It has further been argued that identity exploration is positively related to parental attachment but negatively related to parental supervision (Gecas and Schwalbe, 1986; Openshaw et

al., 1984). This has been found to be particularly the case for daughters (Adams and Jones, 1983; Grotevant and Cooper, 1985). The more likely parents shy away from traditional gender role ideology, the more likely daughters are to be independent and to engage in nontraditional gender pursuits. Based upon the results of these studies both in terms of deviance and identity exploration it is important to ask what types of parental control circumscribe not only deviant but also conformist gendered youth culture experiences.

Parental Instrumental Control

Instrumental (Hagan, 1988; Hagan, Simpson and Gillis, 1985,1987,1990; Matsueda, 1982) or direct control (Nye, 1973; Wells and Rankin, 1988) is control imposed on the individual by external forces. This type of control is conceptualized here in terms of parental surveillance. The assumption here is that as supervision or parental control increases, one's autonomy is circumscribed, thus limiting the possibilities for engaging in particular youth culture activities --- high parental control translates into a lack of autonomy on the part of youth.

The measure of **parental instrumental control** is based on two items which correspond to the dimension of direct/instrumental control of students by parents used by previous researchers (Hagan, 1988; Hagan, Simpson and Gillis, 1985, 1987, 1990; Matsueda, 1982; Nye,1973), as outlined in the previous chapter: "My parents(s) or guardian usually know where I am when I am not at home"; and, "My parent(s) or guardian usually know whom I am with when I am not at home." Each item was set on a five point scale, ranging from, (1) strongly disagree to (5) strongly agree. These items remain as individual measures of parental control for the bivariate analysis found in chapter four. In chapter five (Multivariate analysis) parental instrumental control is represented by an index constructed from the above two items. The reliability of the index is highly acceptable (given there are only two item in the index) with a correlation of .6420.

Relational Control

Relational (a term used by Hagan and his colleagues) or indirect control (the term used by Nye and also by Wells and Rankin) has to do with the extent of affection and identification integrating the individual with authority figures in general and parents in particular.

The dimension, **parental relational control** is measured by three items. First, students were asked to respond to the question: "What my parent(s) or guardian think of my conduct is important to me". Responses for this measure of control ranged from (1) strongly disagree (low control) to (5) strongly agree (high control). Second, students were asked to indicate the extent to which they could rely on (a) their mother and (b) their father for help in times of trouble. Possible responses on a five-point scale ranged from 'no such person' (low control) to 'very much' (high control). Once again for the bivariate analysis found in chapter four each of these measures of parental relational control remain as independent measures. For reasons of consistency with parental instrumental control, relational control in chapter five is represented by two dimensions: (i) a measure of parental attachment as used by Hirschi (1969) defined by how strongly a youth cares about the opinions of their parents (ie., social approval) and (ii) a measure of social support. Support by parents is represented by two indices which are measures of closeness to mother and to father: "When you have problems, how much can you rely on your mother for help'; and, "When you have problems how much can you rely on your father for help". These two items were summed to provide a composite measure, with low values indicating low parental control and high values indicating high parental control with r= .5247.

Peer Control Factors

Others have suggested that during the teenage years, peer relational control is a highly influential factor. Sheppard et al. (1985) found that young people who rely on the peer group, rather than the family, are particularly vulnerable to peer pressure to engage in problem behaviours. Sheppard et al., find a positive relationship for peer attachment and a negative relationship for reliance on family, for activities of smoking, drinking and illegal drug use. Similar results are reported by Johnson

(1986). Johnson examined the relative influence of parents and peers on adolescents' use and abuse of alcohol. The more involved adolescents were in their peer group, the more likely they were to drink. Other deviance research on smoking (van Roosmalen and McDaniel, 1989), drinking, drug use and early sexual activity makes the connection between strong peer and weak parental attachments (Nye, 1958; Singer and Levine, 1988; Smith, 1985). We now ask ourselves is the same relationship evident for non-deviant behaviour and is the magnitude of the relationship the same.

Hagan's research on risk taking and delinquency only examined the influences of parental (vertical) control and attachment: maternal and paternal. Within this present research I have not only incorporated a measure of vertical control and attachment but also peer (horizontal) control and attachment by looking at the peer group.

Peer Relational Control was measured by the response to the question: "Spending time with my friends is important to me". Responses to this measure range from (1) strongly disagree to (5) strongly agree. Also included is a measure of **peer support:** "When you have problems, how much can you rely on your friends for help". This item is similarly coded to maternal and paternal support, in which high values represent high levels of support. For this dimension of control a composite measure was constructed from the two items. The correlation here is .4087.

Socialized Control Factors

We need also to stress the importance not only of parental influence or peer influence, but also the importance of self and personal independence. In 1958 Nye argued that the development of an autonomous self, a form of internalized control, inhibits young males form engaging in deviant pursuits. Hirschi (1969) argued that educational commitment deters males from pursuing deviant activities. Others working within the deviance tradition have suggested that risking educational goals for the pursuit of deviance is more strongly associated with male than with female deviance (Cohen, 1955; Cloward and Ohlin, 1960; Krohn and Massey, 1980). More recently, Lips (1991) has argued that women tend to describe themselves as feeling more externally controlled than men do. Men are more likely than women to feel a sense of internal control --- a belief that they control their own life direction and

choices. Having a sense of one's own capabilities and potential effectiveness gives one a sense of personal control. This type of control implies a lack of constraints, regulation and dependence on others. The question we ask with respect to this study is, do socialized control mechanisms of educational commitment and financial independence from parents operate differently for girls than for boys in influencing the types of youth culture behaviour in which they engage.

Independence from parents is measured by two items. First respondents were asked whether they owned or had regular daily use of a car. There were only two possible responses (1 'no' and 2 'yes'). Second, respondents were asked to describe their own financial situation. There were three possible responses 1 'I usually have more money than I need', 2 'I usually have enough money to get by' and, 3 'I am usually short of money'. The coding of this question was then reversed. To create a measure of 'respondents' independence from parents' a new variable was constructed combining these two measures. On a four-point scale, the new measure ranges from a value of 1 'low independence' (those who did not have regular daily use of car and who also felt that they were usually short of money) to a value of 4 'high independence' (those students who did have regular daily use of car and also felt that they usually had more money than they needed). Greenberger and Steinberg (1986:209) suggest that "at the core of autonomy are the capacities to be self-governing rather than controlled by others ...to exist independently". The assumption operating, in the present study, is the belief that the higher the degree of financial autonomy from their parents, the greater the sense of personal autonomy, or in other words control, youth feel over their own lives.

Grades are measured by responses to the question "on average, what have your grades been like this past school year?" Possible responses, on a four-point-scale, range from under 50% to 80% or better. The assumption here is that grades (commitment to school) will be strongly related to more conformist than deviant youth culture pursuits. Students grades may be an important, although repeatedly ignored, variable in research on a variety of youth activities. The exception here is research on part-time youth employment. The relationship between grade point average and hours per week young people spend at a part-time job has been an issue of research (eg., Freedman and Thornton, 1990; Greenberger and Steinberg, 1986)

THEORETICAL MODEL

Based upon a theoretical model of power-control theory and delinquency first outlined by Hagan and his colleagues we attempt to sketch out a model of gender, social control and normative behaviour[25].

Our model begins with the connection between gender and various dimensions of youth culture. Link 1 articulates the gender differences in the participation rates of various youth culture pursuits. In chapter four we examine gender variations in a variety of youth culture pursuits, in isolation, in chapter five we examine those same differences in 'dimensions' (through the combining of specific behaviours) of youth culture. This link provides a test of the hypothesis 1: The youth culture pursuits of girls are sufficiently different form that of boys to warrant a private (home-based)/public (street-based) dichotomous analysis.

Link 2 addresses the relationship between gender and various elements of control. Do we find, as suggested by Hagan, that daughters are under greater parental control than sons? Are there similar gender differences in peer and socialized control mechanisms?

Link 3 takes the next step. This link examines the relationship between elements of control and youth culture participation. The complete model directs us to the consequences of the sexual stratification of social control. The complete theoretical model predicts that gender differences in youth culture pursuits will be observed and that they are mediated by the various structures of control (parental, peer, socialized) outlined above. If girls are under greater and more varied forms of control, as we suspect, what role do these various elements of control play in explaining the gender differences in youth culture? Hagan has already suggested that daughters are under greater parental instrumental and relational control and

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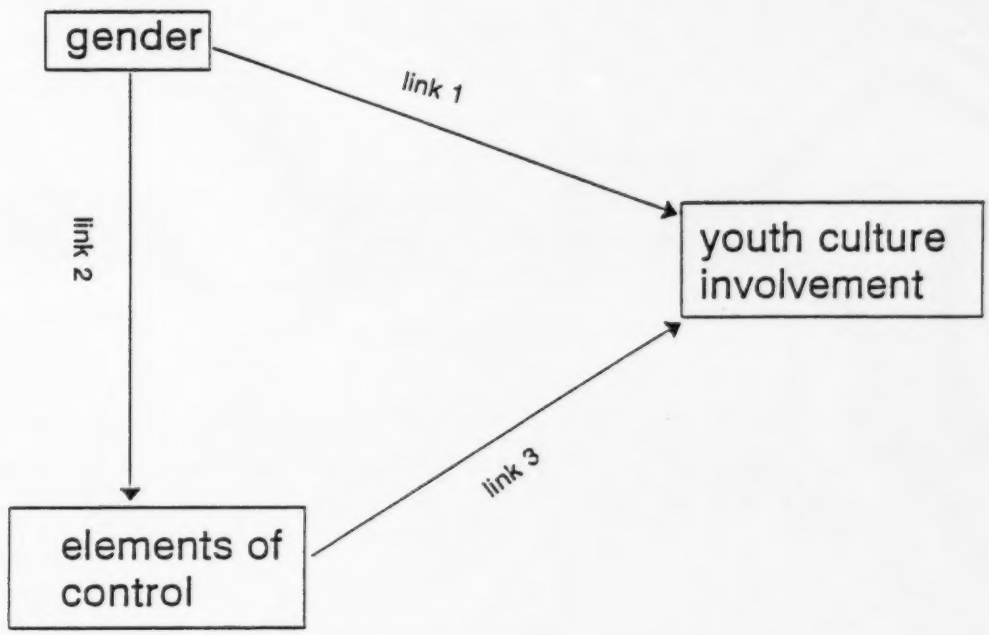
[25] Our model is a scaled-down version of the one presented by Hagan (1988). Hagan's model articulated the links between class structures, gender, parental controls, risk preferences, delinquent behaviour and state-defined delinquency.

FIGURE 3.3
THEORETICAL MODEL



Control Model of Gendered Youth Culture

therefore are less risk-taking and hence engage in fewer deviant acts. Our question is does the greater parental control of daughters restrict daughters independence and thus their youth culture pursuits? We further ask what role does the peer group play in encouraging or discouraging various youth culture pursuits? These are just a few of the questions to be addressed in chapter five.

METHODS OF ANALYSIS

Three different methods of analysis are employed in this research: multiple classification analysis, factor analysis and multiple regression. The analysis of the data proceeds as follows. First, in chapter four the percentages of students participating in a variety of youth culture activities are calculated to determine the overall extent of participation. Next, bivariate findings and controlled comparisons are presented for each of the structural control factors on each of the eleven types of youth culture activities through the use of MCA (Multiple Classification Analysis)[26] to determine (i) whether there truly exists an autonomous male and female youth culture, and (ii) the degree to which youth culture pursuits are further organized around class and ethnic lines. After completing the bivariate and tri-variate analysis a multivariate regression model is developed in chapter five. Before developing the regression model, factor analysis is employed to determine different dimensions of youth culture. Specific to this study, through the use of multiple regression we can determine the combined effects of control on the different dimensions of youth culture as well as the separate effects, for example, of 'parental instrumental control' versus 'parental relational control' on each of the dimensions of youth culture.

We incorporate an additive regression model in chapter five. The main focus of analysis here will be on the evaluation of the overall dependence of each of the dimensions of youth culture on a set of independent variables (elements of control).

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[26]Multiple classification analysis is a sub-program of the analysis of variance procedure which shows how each independent variable is related to the dependent variable both before and after controlling for the effects of other independent variables. This approach is useful when independent variables are measured at the nominal or ordinal level.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

In this chapter, the methodology of the study has been described including a description of the Youth Employment Study (YEMP) data, the limitations of the study, and the operationalization and conceptualization of dependent and independent variables. The chapter is concluded with a brief discussion of the types of methods of analysis employed. In the following chapter, the bivariate and tri-variate findings of the study are reported, beginning with a description of the background characteristics of the high school seniors.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE PUBLIC WORLD - THE PRIVATE WORLD
A PORTRAIT OF YOUTH

INTRODUCTION

This chapter begins by developing a portrait of youth culture in Canada. Identified are ten youth culture activities high school seniors engage in during their out-of-school hours. The range of activities pursued and the rate of student participation is the central focus of this chapter. Given the primary concern is in developing a characterization of urban Canadian youth 'out of school' culture, also analyzed here is the extent to which a variety of youth culture pursuits reflect a young persons' background situation.

To understand high school students use of 'out-of-school' time we need to assess and understand the impact of a young person's family class situation, primary language spoken at home, the city in which they live and their sex. Do influences of class, ethnicity, gender and city affect the types and circumstances of individuals' youth experiences, by providing or limiting youth with various possibilities which in turn contribute to their various youth culture pursuits? Clarke (1986:13) argues that, "[t]he position of young people in class, racial and gender terms makes an enormous difference in the experience of being young". In other words, the extent of participation in youth culture may be affected by financial as well as city resources available to individuals, in addition to traditional gender as well as cultural socialization practices. These in turn may place different structural constraints on the form youth culture takes for particular individuals.

A CURSORY LOOK AT WHO THEY ARE

This section provides a portrait of who the students are who make up this study, based on the survey data from a sample of (N=2074) Canadian high school seniors, by presenting some of the background characteristics of the 907 (43.8%) females and 1163 (56.2%) male youth (refer to Table 4.1).

City

As outlined in the previous chapter the youth are all senior high school students from three Canadian cities. The largest proportion of students are from Edmonton and the smallest proportion are from Sudbury. There are 693 (33.4%) youth from high schools in Toronto, 906 (43.7%) from Edmonton and 475 (22.9%) from Sudbury.

Age

Given that our sample of high school seniors is restricted to those students living at home, age does not figure prominently in this study. The age variation is limited. The average high school senior in this sample was 18 years of age in 1985. More specifically, 11.8% (143) were 20 years of age or older, 30.9% (635) were 19 years of age, 51.8% (1066) were 18 years of age, and 5.5% (113) were either 16 and 17. Thus, there is insufficient variation in the sample to allow for analysis of this variable and its effect on youth culture.

Language Spoken at Home

Three quarters of the youth in the study state that English is the language spoken at home, whereas, 24.6 percent speak a language other than English when at home. Although a crude measure, 'language spoken at home' does give us some indication of the ethnicity among the students.

TABLE 4.1

BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS

Characteristics	Percent	N
Total	100.0	2074
City		
Toronto	33.4	693
Edmonton	43.7	906
Sudbury	22.9	475
Sex		
Female	43.8	907
Male	56.2	1163
Age		
< 18 years	5.5	113
18 years	51.8	1066
19 years	30.9	635
> 19 years	11.8	143
Language		
English	75.4	1551
Non-English	24.6	507
Family Structure		
Dual Parent	81.9	1698
Single Parent	18.1	376
High school Program		
Non-academic	45.3	940
Academic	54.7	1134
Grades		
80% +	12.0	247
70-79%	31.1	642
60-69%	44.3	914
< 60%	12.6	261
Respondents' Financial Situation		
More than enough	15.2	312
Enough money	60.3	1234
Less money than needed	24.4	500
Parents' Financial Situation		
Lower class	9.3	190
Middle class	55.7	1137
Upper class	35.0	713

Family structure and class situation

The majority (81.9%) of the youth were living at home, in a dual-parent family. Approximately eighteen percent were living in a single parent family. The majority of these were female headed households. There was limited class variation among the students. Over half of the students reported their family's financial situation to be about average, in other words, middle class. Thirty-five percent claimed their family's financial situation could be considered wealthy or upper class, at the very least above average, and 9.3 percent believed it to be below average or lower class, verging at the poverty level.

Respondents' financial situation

Respondents' own financial situation had a similar pattern to that of their parents. Here again the majority of students stated that they usually had enough money to get by (60.3%). A quarter of the students actually had more money than they needed, while, 15.2 percent stated that they were usually short of cash.

Schooling and grades

The majority of students, at the time of study, were enrolled in an academic program, and just over 45 percent were in a nonacademic (technical or vocational) program. The largest proportion of students reported achieving grades between sixty and sixty-nine percent, thirty-one percent reported achieving grades anywhere between seventy and seventy-nine percent, and roughly equal proportions reported achieving grades better than 80 percent and lower than 60 percent.

ACTIVITIES PURSUED BY SOME OF CANADA'S HIGH SCHOOL SENIORS

Bivariate Analysis

What are some of the various and particular youth culture pursuits engaged in by Canada's youth? How much time do young people devote to these pursuits? These are the questions addressed in this section.

Correlation coefficients are first examined among the dependent variables to assess their relationship to each other. Table 4.2 displays the zero-order correlations among a variety of youth culture pursuits. Although the correlations displayed in Table 4.2 are statistically significant, the correlations are weak. For example, time spent hanging around and television viewing are reasonably correlated (r= .21). Number of clubs a student belongs to and sport participation are moedrately correlated (r= .28) as are frequency of dating and alcohol consumption (r=.28). The only pursuits which appear more strongly correlated are drinking and drug use (.43), drinking and illegal activities (.44) and drug use and illegal activities (.52). The positive correlations between drinking, drug use and illegal activities is a typical finding supported by much delinquency research.

TABLE 4.2

YOUTH CULTURE ACTIVITIES[28]: ZERO-ORDER CORRELATIONS

	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
(1)	-.03	.07	.11	.10	.13	.09	.13	.02	.03
(2)		.28	.07	.00	-.12	-.02	.00	-.07	.02
(3)			.08	-.01	-.12	.02	.05	-.01	.05
(4)				-.15	-.15	.16	.28	.11	.09
(5)					.21	.05	-.04	-.05	-.06
(6)						.02	-.01	.08	.05
(7)							.24	.18	.14
(8)								.43	.44
(9)									.52
(10)									

1. Current Part-time employment
2. Number of Club/Team Memberships
3. Regular Sport/Exercise
4. Dating
5. Television Viewing
6. Hanging Around
7. Cruising Around
8. Drinking
9. Drug Use
10. Illegal Activity

[28]With the exception of sport participation, all variables are measured on a three point scale. In all cases high values mean higher rates of involvement. Sport participation is operateionalized as 1 'no' and 2 'yes'. For a complete description of measurement values refer to chapter 3 under the section 'Conceptualization and Operationalization of Dependent Variables'.

THE SOCIAL MAPPING OF YOUTH CULTURE

The issue addressed in this section is the relative importance of individual background factors[29], of language spoken at home, sex, parents' financial situation and city of residence, on the restriction or promotion of normative youth culture in Canada.

For each of the variables considered in the following analysis, bivariate relationships with selected youth culture activities are examined. The data on level of participation in various youth culture activities will be considered as an indicator of magnitude (low, moderate and high) rather than an accurate estimate of actual time.

Club/Team Memberships and Regular Sport/Exercise Participation

A greater proportion of young people overall report regular participation in either sports or exercise (72.8%) than club participation (60.6%). Crosstabulations of club membership and sport participation by sex indicate that high school boys are more likely than high school girls to belong to clubs and to regularly participate in sports. The differences between the sexes for both club membership and sport participation is statistically significant at $p < .001$.The gender differences noted are not completely surprising given other Canadian statistical reports which also suggest boys are more involved in sports (Bibby and Posterski, 1985; 1992; Holmes and Silverman, 1992). Further statistically significant differences are found across the three cities, for club membership, but not for sport participation. Toronto has the lowest reported club participation and Sudbury the highest. As is also revealed by Table 4.3, there are significant differences across ethnic groupings. Club/team membership is far greater for those whose primary language at home is English. Almost 54 percent of youth, who speak a language other than English at home

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[29] Preliminary analysis revealed minimal age or family type variance, therefore, these independent macro forms of control will not be included in the analysis.

TABLE 4.3

AVERAGE NUMBER OF CLUBS/TEAMS[30] BY SELECTED BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS, 1985

Characteristics	Low	Moderate	High	N
Total	39.4	39.1	21.5	1805
Female	46.3	35.8	17.9	808
Male	33.9	41.8	24.3	997*
City				
Toronto	45.6	33.7	20.7	517
Edmonton	38.6	43.2	18.2	850
Sudbury	33.9	37.5	28.6	440*
Language				
English	35.1	41.4	23.6	1382
Non-English	53.7	31.8	14.5	419*
Parents' Financial Situation				
Below average	42.0	36.9	21.0	160
Average	43.9	38.9	17.3	976
Above Average	28.9	42.1	29.0	653*

* $p \leq .001$

[30] Low level of participation is defined as not belonging to any clubs/teams. A moderate level of participation means that the student belongs to either one of two clubs/teams. High levels of participation indicate membership in three or more clubs/teams.

TABLE 4.4

PROPORTION OF YOUTHS WHO PARTICIPATE IN SPORTS OR ENGAGE IN PHYSICAL EXERCISE REGULARLY, BY SELECTED BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS, 1985

Characteristics	Percent Regular Participation	Total N
Total	72.8	1889
Female	62.3	843
Male	81.4	1046*
City		
Toronto	72.6	559
Edmonton	71.8	872
Sudbury	75.2	460
Language		
English	73.8	1058
Non-English	70.4	317
Parents' Financial Situation		
Below average	64.7	167
Average	70.7	1025
Above Average	78.5	675*

* $p \leq .001$

report no club memberships. Unlike club membership, analysis of Table 4.4 indicates there is very little variation in sport participation by primary language spoken at home.

Where we do note further differences in sport participation is across family class situation. There is a statistically significant positive linear correlation between high school youth sport/exercise participation and their parents' financial situation. Approximately 65 percent of below average family class youth regularly engage in physical exercise, but this jumps to 78.5 percent when their parents' financial situation is defined as above average. Similarly, upper class students (those whose familial financial situation is above average) have by far the highest level of club/team memberships. Approximately 29 percent of these young people report having no club memberships. This compares to over 40 percent of young people whose family class situation is middle class or lower class.

The greater propensity for teenagers whose families are more financially secure may result, in part, from the high cost of many sport facilities. Alternatively this trend may also be a result of youth from lower income groups having more familial obligations and therefore having neither the time, inclination nor the money to engage in this form of activity.

Results from our study (in accordance with other Canadian studies) reveal that sports and exercise play a dominant role in the youth culture activities of Canadian young people, both male and female (see also, Bibby and Posterski, 1985; Bibby and Posterski, 1992; Health and Welfare, 1992; Holmes and Silverman, 1992). That a large proportion of teens do regularly participate in sports and belong to at least one club suggests that athletic participation plays a large part in Canadian youth culture regardless of social class, ethnic background or sex.

Television Viewing

Although very few young people never watch television, it is not as prevalent a pastime as some might believe. Less than 3.0 percent of youth claim to never watch television (Refer to Appendix B). This corresponds with much existing Canadian

research which suggests that television is a common form of leisure for young people (Bibby and Posterski, 1985; Frenette, 1985; Special Senate Subcommittee, 1986; Straw, 1986). These same studies suggest, however, that although young people spend many hours in front of the television, it is not their first choice in leisure pursuits. Although the sex differences in television viewing are statistically significant ($p < .001$) the majority of both female and male youth spend low to moderate amounts of time watching television (83.8% of girls and 75.6% of boys). Overall, the majority of young people spend less than fifteen hours per week in front of the television. Results such as these are not surprising, particularly, if we take into account that to watch television, young people have to stay home, this is one thing they do not really like to do (Corrigan, 1979; Straw, 1986). Yet given this explanation it is interesting that we do find that males on average watch more television in a week than females. As is illustrated in Table 4.5, for example, 43 percent of girls and 35 percent of boys spend very few hours per week watching television. When we look at those youth who watch a great deal of television, we note a higher proportion of boys than girls (24.4% compared to 16.2%, respectively). These findings are consistent with those of Bibby and Posterski (1985) as well as Health and Welfare (1992) but contrary to Baker (1985). Our findings may reflect that even for young people the home is somewhat more a site of leisure for men, but not for women. The home for women, whether teens or not, is still defined as a sphere of work. As argued by Morley (1988:147),

> ... investigating television viewing in the home ... is by definition investigating something which men are better placed to do wholeheartedly, and which women seem only to be able to do distractedly and guilty because of their continuing sense of domestic responsibilities.

More will be said on this when we discuss youth involvement in household work.

There are no notable differences in television viewing time across ethnic divisions (similar to results of Frenette, 1985), city or across family class situation.

TABLE 4.5

AVERAGE NUMBER OF HOURS PER WEEK SPENT WATCHING TELEVISION[31], BY SELECTED BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS, 1985

Characteristics	Low	Moderate	High	N
Total	38.3	41.0	20.7	1857
Female	42.6	41.2	16.2	826
Male	34.7	40.9	24.4	1031*
City				
Toronto	39.6	37.0	23.4	538
Edmonton	37.5	42.5	19.9	858
Sudbury	38.3	42.7	18.9	454
Language				
English	38.3	41.4	20.3	1410
Non-English	38.2	39.6	22.2	432
Parents' Financial Situation				
Below average	41.9	35.9	22.2	167
Average	36.3	41.4	22.4	993
Above Average	39.8	41.9	18.3	668

* $p < .001$

[31] Less than six hours per week is defined as low level television viewing, six to fifteen hours as moderate and greater than fifteen hours per week as high level television viewing.

Cruising Behaviour

Significant differences are found for all four of our background variables in terms of the amount of time young people spend cruising the streets in a car either by themselves or with friends. Approximately half of the young people in our study spend moderate amounts of time (anywhere between one and five hours per week) cruising around in a car. More males than females spend greater amounts of their out-of-school hours cruising. Approximately 30 percent of males spend greater than 6 hours per week 'cruising' compared to only 17.5 percent of females.

While the differences are not large, there are some ethnic differences in terms of number of hours spent cruising. Twenty-three percent of young people who speak a language other than English at home spend greater than 6 hours per week cruising compared to twenty-five percent of youth who speak English.

Fewer youth from Toronto spend time cruising than youth from either Sudbury or Edmonton. This may have something to due with the fact that when youth (or adults) go out in Toronto they are more likely to use the subway system. The streets in Toronto are crowded and parking is scarce and expensive.

What is further noted in Table 4.6 is that upper class young people spend the least amount of time cruising the streets, in a week, and lower class youth spend the most amount of time cruising, either by themselves or with friends. How do we explain this? On the one hand we would think that upper class youth would have easier access to a vehicle. They are more likely to come from a two-car family. And therefore, if they did not already have a car of their own, there would be one sitting waiting for them in the driveway. Yet this would not appear to be the case. Perhaps then it is the case that youth from above average family class backgrounds use the car to go somewhere (sporting events, clubs or pubs). We have already seen that above average family class youth have both higher rates of sport and club participation. Below average family class youth may not have the finances to hang around pubs and drink or to participate in sporting events. For them the car, and all that a car entails, including cruising the streets, plays a larger role in their culture of youth.

TABLE 4.6

AVERAGE NUMBER OF HOURS PER WEEK SPENT CRUISING IN A CAR[32], BY SELECTED BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS, 1985

Characteristics	Low	Moderate	High	N
Total	25.7	49.6	24.8	1792
Female	30.9	51.6	17.5	796
Male	21.5	47.9	30.6	996*
City				
Toronto	36.3	43.1	20.6	510
Edmonton	20.1	51.9	28.0	831
Sudbury	24.1	52.3	23.6	453*
Language				
English	24.5	50.1	25.4	1374
Non-English	29.3	47.9	22.8	413˜
Parents' Financial Situation				
Below average	26.9	44.5	28.5	163
Average	27.7	47.4	24.9	958
Above Average	20.7	50.3	13.9	652˜

* $p < .001$
˜ $p < .05$

[32]Never spending time cruising around is defined as low level cruising, one to five hours as moderate and greater than sex hours per week as high levels of cruising.

Part-time Employment

Part-time work plays a dominant role in the lives of Canadian young people. Over half of the students participating in this study hold part-time jobs. The majority of these jobs require a time commitment involving anywhere between ten and twenty hours per week[33].

There are few statistically significant differences in terms of hours per week young people spend working. As can be seen in Table 4.7 there are few city differences, although youth from Toronto are more likely to work greater than twenty hours per week than youth from either Edmonton or Sudbury. When examining the influence of ethnicity, a slightly larger proportion of young people whose primary language at home is English work between one and twenty hours per week, whereas a larger, albeit slight, proportion of young people who state that English is not the language spoken at home work greater than twenty hours per week.

In terms of family class situation, the only notable difference is with respect to young people working greater than twenty hours per week. Here we see a clear negative relationship. The higher the family class situation the less likely young people are working greater than twenty hours per week.

Equal proportions of males and females hold part-time jobs while attending high school (55.5% and 56.8%, respectively). Where we note a significant difference is in terms of the hours per week male and female students work. Girls more so than boys work what we have defined as a 'moderate' amount of time, one to twenty hours per week (46.3% and 35.5%, respectively) and boys more so than girls work greater than twenty hours per week (20% of boys compared to only 10.5% of girls).

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[33] The predominance of youth employment has been attributed to a combination of economic, social and psychological changes that have occurred over the past several decades (Greenberger et al., 1986; Krahn and Lowe, 1993). The growth in youth employment is predominantly in the service and retail sector. The structure of the 'lower tier' service industry (retail trade and other consumer services) is characterized by part-time work opportunities, low wages, irregular scheduled hours and minimal skill or training requirements (Krahn, 1989; Krahn and Lowe, 1993). For the most part this is where young people, in general, and in our study in particular, tend to work.

TABLE 4.7

AVERAGE NUMBER OF HOURS PER WEEK SPENT WORKING AT A PART-TIME JOB[34], BY SELECTED BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS, 1985

Characteristics	Low	Moderate	High	N
Total	44.0	40.2	15.9	2025
Female	43.2	46.3	10.5	889
Male	44.5	35.5	20.0	1136*
City				
Toronto	42.4	39.4	18.2	672
Edmonton	43.3	42.1	14.6	893
Sudbury	47.4	37.5	15.1	464
Language				
English	44.0	40.7	15.2	1524
Non-English	44.1	37.9	18.0	490
Parents' Financial Situation				
Below average	40.5	39.0	20.5	186
Average	43.0	40.0	17.0	1105
Above Average	44.6	43.9	11.4	709

* p< .001

[34]Not spending time at a part-time is defined as low level involvment, one to twenty hours as moderate and greater than twenty hours per week as high level part-time employment.

Further gender differences are noted in the average weekly take home pay. As is evident in Table 4.7(b), an equal proportion of teenage males and females earn between fifty and one hundred dollars per week (44.1% and 46.0%, respectively). However, 35.4 percent of females earn less than fifty dollars per week compared to only 19.9 percent of males. And on the other extreme, 36.0 percent of males and only 18.6 percent of females earn greater than one hundred dollars per week.

The finding that a high and equal proportion of males and females hold part-time jobs while attending high school, and commit a great deal of time to these jobs, although consistent with the research results of Greenberger and Steinberg (1986), Manning (1990), Mortimer et al. (1990), US Dept. of Labor (1985) in the United States and Bibby and Posterski (1985), Krahn and Lowe (1990), Holmes and Silverman (1992) in Canada, is contradictory to the traditional Marxist youth culture view set forth by Brake which suggests that the culture of boys is located in the sphere of work and the culture of girls is located in a different, contradictory and peripheral sphere--- the home (Brake, 1985:164). It is similarly contradictory to the liberal feminist view of McRobbie and Garber (1976:211) when they argue that women are marginal to the male culture of work because they are central to the complementary sphere of the family. The prevalence of part-time employment, in the lives of young people, is further evidence which leads us to suggests that perhaps there is less of a distinction between female and male youth cultures, than has been previously argued.

TABLE 4.7(b)

AVERAGE TAKE HOME PAY PER WEEK BY GENDER, 1985

Average Weekly Pay	Female	Male	Total
Less than $50	35.4 (183)	19.9 (127)	26.8 (310)
Between $50 and $100	46.0 (238)	44.1 (282)	45.0 (520)
Between $100 and $150	11.6 (30)	21.4 (137)	17.0 (197)
Greater than $150	7.0 (36)	14.6 (93)	11.2 (129)
Total	44.7 (517)	55.3 (639)	100.0 (1156)

Just Hanging Around

Data in Table 4.8 indicates very few differences in the amount of time young people spend hanging around, doing nothing. There is little variation across cities, between ethnic divisions and for the first time, we find no gender differences. Girls are just as likely to spend time hanging around, as boys. This is contrary to Corrigan's (1979) argument that hanging around, doing nothing, is a male 'thing' to do. Perhaps what we are seeing here is the effects of asking girls whether they hang around. Corrigan's study did not include girls, therefore he was unable to determine whether hanging around was actually a male thing or just a youth 'thing'. Perhaps what we are also noting here is a cultural difference between British and Canadian youth.

Overall, half of the young people in our study report hardly ever spending time just hanging around, just over a third report spending perhaps half of their time hanging around and in actual fact, very few youth report spending most of their time hanging around. On the other hand, Table 4.8 does illustrate that 16.0 percent of young people whose parents' financial situation is below average report spending most of their time hanging around. This compares to 6.6 percent of average family class young people, and 4.4 percent of above average class youth. Once again we may be seeing the effects of a lack of alternative choices. Not having the finances to participate in more consumer oriented culture, structures the youth culture of working class adolescents differently from adolescents who do have the financial resources. Alternatively it may be that lower class youth do not have the inclination to be more actively involved in a more consumer oriented culture and prefer hanging around. As Corrigan (1979) found, hanging around 'doing nothing' is the central activity of working class boys. All other part time activities were found by Corrigan to take place in relationship to the vast amounts of time spent hanging around (Corrigan, 1979:119).

TABLE 4.8

AVERAGE AMOUNT OF TIME PER WEEK SPENT JUST HANGING AROUND[35], BY SELECTED BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS, 1985

Characteristics	Low	Moderate	High	N
Total	56.3	37.4	6.4	1886
Female	55.8	38.5	5.7	840
Male	56.6	36.5	6.9	1046
City				
Toronto	52.2	38.5	9.3	558
Edmonton	57.9	37.8	4.3	867
Sudbury	58.1	35.2	6.7	463
Language				
English	57.2	36.5	6.3	1437
Non-English	52.8	40.4	6.8	443
Parents' Financial Situation				
Below average	48.1	35.9	16.0	169
Average	53.6	39.8	6.6	1019
Above Average	62.0	33.6	4.4	673*

* $p < .001$

[35]Hardly ever spending time hanging around is defined as low level, spending half their time hanging around is defined as a moderate level and spending most of their time hanging around is defined as a high level of hanging around time.

Dating

Data on frequency of dating are reported on in Table 4.9. Of the majority of youth culture pursuits reported on thus far, boys have had a higher rate of participation. In terms of dating frequency the situation appears to be quite different. For the first time we are seeing higher levels of participation for girls. Approximately 47 percent of girls report high levels of dating. They date at least once a week. This compares to 41 percent of boys. Similar findings are reported by much feminist research on girls and dating (Griffiths, 1988; Kostash, 1987; Lees, 1986; McRobbie, 1991; Shuart, 1990a). These studies have further concluded that not only are girls more involved in dating relationships they also spent greater amounts of time preparing for, organizing and maintaining dating relationships.

The question we need to ask ourselves here is, is this in fact an actual gender difference or might it mean that boys and girls define dating differently? Dating is an activity which has traditionally been defined by both malestream and feminist researchers as an activity that consumes more of female's time than male's. Our findings on the surface would tend to support this view. A larger proportion of young women report that they go on a date at least once a week. What happens when we look beneath the surface? It is not that young men do not date. After all, who are these women dating? Of course, it is often the case that high school girls date older boys. What appears to be more likely is that young men view dating differently than young women. Perhaps females in general are more committed to the concept of dating relationships (Cooper and Grotevant, 1987) and males are more involved in a casual, noncommittal dating pattern. It would appear to be more of a difference in semantics than actual behaviour. The plausibility of this explanation is borne out by some of the comments made by the students themselves, when asked, in an open-ended question format, what they did on Saturday night. Males would say such things as: "I went out for supper and a movie with a girl". In a similar scenario, females would say, "my boyfriend took me out for dinner and then to a movie". Females also would say such things as "I went out on a date", or "I went to a bar, with my date".

TABLE 4.9

PATTERNS IN DATING BEHAVIOUR[36], BY SELECTED BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS, 1985

Characteristics	Low	Moderate	High	N
Total	21.5	35.1	43.5	1857
Female	22.4	31.0	46.6	826
Male	20.8	38.3	40.9	1031*
City				
Toronto	22.3	31.7	46.0	546
Edmonton	22.0	35.8	42.2	855
Sudbury	19.7	37.6	42.8	458
Language				
English	19.5	35.4	45.1	1419
Non-English	24.8	33.3	38.3	433*
Parents' Financial Situation				
Below average	27.2	33.1	39.6	169
Average	23.0	36.2	40.8	1000
Above Average	17.7	34.0	48.4	668^

* p< .001
^ p< .01

[36] Low levels of dating is defined as dating less than once a month. Moderate levels refer to youth who date at least once or twice a month. Youth who date weekly are defined in terms of high levels.

Males said such things as "I went bar hopping, looking for women" or "I picked up a girl at the bar, we fooled around". We will elaborate more fully on these ideas, later in the chapter.

No differences in patterns of dating behaviour are found across cities. Youth in Edmonton, Toronto and Sudbury date pretty much to the same extent. Youth from Toronto appear to have a somewhat higher frequency in dating, but the difference is marginal.

A noteworthy difference is found with respect to ethnicity. Young people whose primary language at home is English have a higher rate of dating (45.1%) than young people who speak a language other than English (38.3%). We will address the issue of possible cultural difference further along in the chapter.

Variations in dating frequency are also noted across differences in family class situation. As is clearly evident in Table 4.9, above average class youth report higher levels of dating frequency than average class youth and average class youth report higher levels of dating frequency than below average class youth. Here again, we may be seeing the effects of lack of financial resources or perhaps differences in definitions of 'dating'.

Drinking

The data suggest the consumption of alcohol is not the sole bastion of male activity it once may have been. Table 4.10 reveals a sizeable majority of students consume alcohol quite regularly. Forty-four percent of all youth studied consume alcohol at least once a week (high levels). In comparison, only 16 percent have never drank (low levels). Statistically significant differences are found across all four background factors.

Minimal differences are noted in terms of male and female youth reporting never to have consumed alcoholic beverages. Girls do tend to be more moderate drinkers and boys more frequent drinkers of alcohol. Approximately 46 percent of girls drink at most twice a month compared to 34 percent of boys. On the other hand, 36 percent of girls and 51 percent of boys participate in high levels of drinking. They drink at least once a week. Canada Fitness Survey (1983) results reported that approximately 48 percent of males and 29 percent of females age 18-19 consume alcohol once a week or more often, suggesting that the gender gap may be decreasing. What is particularly alarming about these results is not only the frequency and quantity of alcohol and drug consumption but the perceived social acceptability among youth and the increased acceptability among young women. It is not that high female consumption is more alarming than high male consumption but rather the more evident change in female consumption.

TABLE 4.10

PATTERNS IN DRINKING BEHAVIOUR[37], BY SELECTED BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS, 1985

Characteristics	Low	Moderate	High	N
Total	16.2	39.6	44.2	1954
Female	18.2	46.1	35.7	865
Male	14.6	34.4	51.0	1089*
City				
Toronto	22.7	40.0	37.3	603
Edmonton	15.0	41.9	43.1	887
Sudbury	9.9	35.1	55.0	467*
Language				
English	13.0	39.9	47.1	1468
Non-English	25.9	39.3	34.7	478*
Parents' Financial Situation				
Below average	21.9	43.3	34.8	178
Average	17.7	39.4	42.9	1058
Above Average	11.6	39.4	49.0	690*

* p< .001
^ p< .01

[37]Those youth who drink less than once a month are defined as engaging in low levels of consumption, those who drink at least once a month but less than several times a week are defined as moderate drinkers and those who consume alcohol at least several times a week are defined as high alcohol consumers.

Noller and Callan (1991) provide an argument which suggests that a change in attitude is developing. The use of alcohol is more and more becoming an acceptable feature of a young woman's identity. The attitudes toward drinking as outlined by McRobbie (1991) are seen by many young women today as being too traditional and conservative. The use of alcohol by young women, like the cigarette, may be an expression of their independence and autonomy. It makes a statement about the changes that are occurring in social norms, about what is acceptable behaviour for young women. The frequency of drinking also varies across cities. Youth in Sudbury consume alcohol more frequently than youth in either Toronto or Edmonton. Fifty-five percent of youth from Sudbury report consuming alcohol at least once a week and only 10 percent report never having consumed alcohol. Forty-three percent of youth in Edmonton and 37 percent of youth in Toronto report drinking at least once a week, and 15 percent of youth from Edmonton and 23 percent from Toronto do not drink. These results seem to suggest that the smaller the city and working class environment of Sudbury influences the higher the rate of drinking. An explanation may be that we are seeing the effects of a lack of alternate youth culture pursuits.

Significant ethnic differences are also apparent. Thirteen percent of youth who speak English at home report that they never drink. This compares to 26 percent of youth who speak a language other than English at home. Further differences are noted in terms of high drinking frequency with English-speaking youth having a higher rate of alcohol consumption.

Family class situation also appears to play a role in drinking frequency. The higher the family class situation the more likely youth are to drink at least once a week, and the less likely they are to report never to have consumed alcohol. Finances would once again appear to be playing a role.

Drugs and Other Illegal Activities

As is evident in both Tables 4.11 and 4.12 a sizeable minority of youth report high frequencies of drug use (10.5%) and other illegal activities (11.7%). With respect to both forms of activity, boys report higher levels of participation. Interesting to note, there are greater gender differences in drug use than in other forms of illegal activity.

As was noted with drinking behaviour, youth from Sudbury participate more frequency in both drug use and other forms of illegal activity. Approximately 21 percent of youth from Sudbury report engaging in illegal activities 'often' and 16.5 percent use drugs often. In Edmonton 11 percent of youth engage in illegal activities 'often', whereas only 5 percent of youth from Toronto report such high levels of illegal activity. Although a higher proportion of youth from Toronto report never using drugs than youth from Edmonton, similar proportions report high frequencies of drug use.

Tables 4.11 and 4.12 also illustrates differences across family class situations. Small differences are evident in terms of illegal activity and even smaller differences in terms of drug use.

What else can we say about the youth culture of drinking and drugs? It has been suggested that alcohol consumption and drug taking are part of the male-defined street culture of youth. It has been argued that girls are reluctant to drink because of the sexual dangers of drunkenness (McRobbie, 1991). McRobbie does not suggest that girls do not drink, but rather not to the extent or in the same milieux as males. Yet our results suggest that drinking and to a lesser extent drug taking, are other activities that consumes much of youth's time. And although drug and alcohol use among Canadian youth are declining (Health and Welfare, 1992; Siggner, 1987) they still pose a serious concern to health professionals. Our results support this view. A sizeable majority of students consume alcohol at least once a week. Banks et al. (1992) suggests that drinking is an important means of expressing peer group solidarity. Research results by Noller and Callan (1991) suggest young people perceive alcohol as helping them have more fun, especially when with their friends.

TABLE 4.11

PATTERNS IN DRUG USE[38], BY SELECTED BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS, 1985

Characteristics	Low	Moderate	High	N
Total	73.2	16.3	10.5	1936
Female	77.1	15.5	7.4	857
Male	70.1	16.9	13.1	1079*
City				
Toronto	80.1	11.1	8.9	597
Edmonton	74.0	17.5	8.5	880
Sudbury	63.0	20.6	16.5	462*
Language				
English	69.7	18.8	11.5	1451
Non-English	84.3	8.4	7.3	478*
Parents' Financial Situation				
Below average	74.7	13.8	11.5	174
Average	75.0	14.3	10.7	1048
Above Average	69.7	20.1	10.2	686^

* p< .001
^ p< .01

[38]Those youth who smoke drugs less than once a month are classified as low level involvment, those who take drugs at least once a month but less than several times a week are defined as moderate users and those who smoke drugs at least several times a week are defined as high drug users.

TABLE 4.12

PATTERNS IN ILLEGAL ACTIVITY[39], BY SELECTED BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS, 1985

Characteristics	Low	Moderate	High	N
Total	57.4	30.9	11.7	1951
Female	62.3	27.3	10.3	863
Male	53.4	33.7	12.9	1088*
City				
Toronto	73.6	21.4	5.0	598
Edmonton	54.7	34.2	11.1	889
Sudbury	42.0	36.6	21.4	467*
Language				
English	51.8	34.2	14.0	1464
Non-English	74.3	21.1	4.6	478*
Parents' Financial Situation				
Below average	63.6	26.1	10.2	176
Average	61.5	28.6	9.9	1057
Above Average	49.1	35.9	14.9	690*

* $p < .001$

[39]Those who never engage in illegal activity are defined as low, those who do engage in illegal activities but not often are defined as moderate and those who engage in illegal activities often are defined as high level involvment. It is important to note here that the concept 'illegal' activity is vague. The question asked "How often in the past year have you been involved in any illegal activities (not counting traffic violations)"? In other words, drug use may be subsumed under illegal activity as might be alcohol consumption for those youth who are under age.

Our results would appear to support this view. For males and females alike most drinking goes on in a party situation, whether at the students' own house or at that of a friend.

In comparison to alcohol, drug use is low. However, over one quarter of the young people in our study do report engaging in drug taking activities. Consistent with arguments outlined by McRobbie as well as Canadian research results (Bibby and Posterski, 1985; 1992; Canada Fitness, 1983; Health and Welfare, 1990; 1992; Siggner, 1988) males consume alcohol and take drugs more frequently and in greater quantity. They are the ones more likely to get "loaded", "smashed", "hammered", "stoned" and "blitzed".

Summary

The aim of the above bivariate analysis was to investigate differences in the rate of participation across the ten youth culture activities on the basis of sex, ethnicity, social class and city of residence. Our results illustrate that the activities, experiences and behaviours which characterize 'out-of-school' youth culture reflect the broad social and cultural structures within which they emerge. Many of the youth culture pursuits examined here were circumscribed by gender, class and ethnicity. This suggests that access to and experiences within youth culture are not merely structured by social class as some past researchers have assumed (see for example, Frith, 1981; Willis, 1977). Both ethnicity and gender are pertinent factors for structuring individuals' lived experiences.

The question we now need to ask ourselves is, are we getting the whole picture? The analysis thus far has been restricted to ten predefined youth culture activities. Are there other activities, not examined above, which provide a different or more complete picture? To find an answer to this question, we continue our analysis by directing our attention to a set of open-ended questions dealing with 'one day in the life' of the high school seniors.

A SATURDAY IN THE LIFE

The students were asked an open-ended question "Thinking back to last weekend, can you briefly tell us what you did on: (a) Saturday morning? (b) Saturday afternoon? (c) Saturday evening? Not every student provided an answer to this question and for those who did, some provided a simple one word response and other listed several activities they engaged in on the reference Saturday. Table 4.13 provides a composite picture, of the morning, afternoon and evening activities combined, of what exactly female and male young people did on this reference Saturday[40].

Table 4.13 clearly illustrates that the largest proportion of female and male youth spend some time on Saturday working (30.8% of females and 27.6% of males). This includes both paid and unpaid work. A larger proportion of girls spend time in social pursuits such as visiting and talking with friends, going to the mall, going to the movies or simply just 'going out' and doing 'whatever'. Higher proportions of males than females report spending some time on the reference Saturday engaged in participatory activities (hobbies and club activities), media activities (mainly television and videos), and 'adult oriented' activities of parties, drinking and drugs.

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[40]Some might argue that the activities listed for the reference Saturday may not be all inclusive; and therefore, it is impossible to draw conclusions. What we have to remember is, without prompting by forced-choice questions,, these were the activities listed. Therefore, it is fair to assume, because they were the activities mentioned, they were probably the most significant activities of the reference day for the young people reporting them.

TABLE 4.13

PROPORTION OF HIGH SCHOOL SENIORS SPENDING SOME TIME ON REFERENCE SATURDAY ENGAGED IN VARIOUS DIMENSIONS OF YOUTH ACTIVITIES BY SEX OF STUDENT

Activity	Female	Male
Work	34.2	29.1
Social	28.7	20.4
Participatory	1.7	4.2
Media	7.8	10.2
Adult Oriented	8.2	12.3
Nothing/Sat Around	8.8	3.6
Sport	4.8	9.4
Other (Sleeping/ Grooming)	7.2	10.8
(N)	(798)	(984)

To this point, the activities of male and female young people look quite similar. What happens when we break these eight categories down into specifics? The specific activities are presented in Table 4.14. Here we begin to see some gender differences.

Under 'participatory activities' a larger proportion of males spend time on hobbies. Hobbies for the teenage male include: recording music, model plane building and playing computer games; but more often than not teenage males spend time working on, fixing and washing **their** cars. A few examples, in the words of the boys themselves:

Question Thinking back to last weekend, can you briefly tell us what you did on 'Saturday morning"?

Male "I woke up, went to my brother's shop and worked on my car"

"I fixed the back wheel and the transmission in my car"

Question Thinking back to last weekend, can you briefly tell us what you did on 'Saturday afternoon"?

Male "Saturday afternoon I changed the oil in my car and then washed it"

"I spent the day fixing my sister's and grandmother's car"

"worked on my cars, got one running and hauled two to the junk yard"

TABLE 4.14

VARIETY OF SATURDAY ACTIVITIES ENGAGE IN BY HIGH SCHOOL SENIORS 1985

Activities	Percent of All Activities[41]		
	% Total Response	%Total Response Female	%Total Response Male
Media Activities			
T.V./Videos	7.6	6.5	8.6
Music	0.7	0.5	0.9
Reading	0.7	0.8	0.7
Participatory Activities			
Hobbies	2.9	1.5	4.1
Club/org'n activities	0.2	0.2	0.1
Social Activities			
Visiting/Talking	5.2	6.8	3.6
Weddings/Prom	1.9	2.3	1.7
Out to Restaurant	1.4	2.0	1.0
Went out (unspecified)	3.4	3.3	3.4
Exhibition/Fair	0.6	0.4	0.7
Shopping/Out to Mall	5.2	7.9	2.9
Driving Around	0.6	0.4	0.9
Beach Lake	0.8	0.8	0.9
Date	0.6	0.4	0.9
Movies	3.0	3.0	3.0
Concert	0.2	0.2	0.2

[41]Respondents were asked the question "Thinking back to last weekend, can you briefly tell us what you did on: (a) Saturday Morning? (b) Saturday afternoon? (c) Saturday Evening? Most of the respondents who provided an answer listed two activities, therefore the N for activities is larger than the N for respondents. In this table the morning, afternoon and evening activities have been combined to provide an overall picture of what is it exactly that young people did on this reference Saturday.

Table 4.14 con't...

VARIETY OF SATURDAY ACTIVITIES ENGAGE IN BY HIGHSCHOOL SENIORS 1985

Activities	Percent of All Activities		
	% Total Response	%Total Response Female	%Total Response Male
Adult Oriented Activities			
Party	5.6	4.1	5.9
Bar	1.5	1.9	1.3
Drinking	2.3	1.6	2.2
Drunk	1.5	0.6	2.9
Sport Activities			
Team Sport	2.2	0.8	3.4
Unorganized Sport	4.7	3.6	5.6
Watch Live Sport	0.4	0.4	0.4
Relaxing			
Lying about outside	1.4	2.3	0.6
Sat around	1.1	0.8	1.4
Home/Relaxing	1.6	1.7	1.6
Work Activities			
Part-time employment	18.1	17.5	18.5
Indoor non-paid work	6.4	6.9	1.8
Outdoor non-paid work	3.0	1.6	4.1
Homework	3.9	4.8	3.2
Other			
Sleeping	8.8	7.7	9.8
Grooming	1.6	2.0	1.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N; Responses)	6,006	2,744	3,259
(N; Responents)	1,773	798	974
(Total N)	2,074		

The hobbies girls engage in are, for the most part, quite different. This is not to suggest that young women do not work on computers (although none mentioned doing so on the particular Saturday) or work on cars. They do. Other Canadian research results also suggest video and computer activities are more prominent among male youth (Bibby and Posterski, 1985; 1992; Health and Welfare, 1992). However, the dynamic are quite different. Teenage females are not spending their time on a Saturday fixing transmissions and changing tires, they are washing cars. Furthermore, they are not washing their own cars but someone elses. They "spend the morning helping my dad wash his car". In the afternoon they can be found "washing my brother's car for him" or "vacuuming mom's car out". Clearly we are seeing traditional gender dynamics. Males spend their time fixing cars, females clean them. Males fix their own cars; females wash someone else's car.

Overwhelmingly the hobby of choice for young women is sewing. These young women "got up early to sew", they "spend the afternoon sewing", they "spend the evening sewing", they go "to a friend's house to sew", they "help someone" else "sew a clown outfit for a play".

In general, the hobbies of choice for both male and female teens bear a direct relation to traditional gender-role identities. In terms of social activities, a larger proportion of females spend time at the mall or visiting and talking with friends. Males do the same, just not to the same extent or with the same intent. Young women are more likely to spend time "talking on the phone with my bo", going "downstairs to talk with my mom and dad", "talking with my grandmother", or they spend "the morning talking with my sister", or just "hanging around and talking with friends". When boys spend time talking, they talk with their friends. They "drink beer and talk with friends", they "go out to (their) friend's and sit around and talk", they have friends sleep over and in the morning they sit around and talk. They seem to spend little time talking on the phone and even less time talking with family.

These differences may reflect differences between males and females in the relationships they have with their friends and family. The friendships of females tend to be one to one (Baker, 1985; Griffin, 1985; Holmes and Silverman, 1992; Lees, 1986; McRobbie, 1991). The phone is an easy means of communicating one on one. The peer relationships of boys are more likely to involve groups (Hunter and

Youniss, 1982; Johnson and Aries, 1983). These results further reflect traditional gender-role socialization which emphasizes autonomy for males and communion and kin connectedness for females. Women are more open, expressive and dependent on family dynamics. Young men may be less likely to open up to family members because they are socialized to be more independent. Communicating with parents may provide the parents with an opportunity to tell their sons what to think or do. Therefore, teenage males may be more likely to talk with friends than anyone else.

In contrast to the social pursuits, outlined above, teenage males tend more toward what we have defined as 'alcohol/drug' social pursuits. The activities included here are drinking, drug use, sex, illegal pursuits and most important of all, 'partying' ---- activities which have traditionally been defined as the core of male youth culture. Predominantly, this remains a male pursuit, but not exclusively. Teenage girls have jumped on the band wagon. However, gender differences are apparent. A few comments from the students about how they spent their time on the reference Saturday tells it all. First some comments from the men in our study:

> (in the morning) I worked... (in the afternoon) I worked... (in the evening) I got off work cashed my cheque bought some pot, got stoned, then went to the lounge with a few friends...
>
> (in the morning) I ate aspirins, drank beer and smoked dope at the lake... (in the afternoon) I drank beer and smoked dope... (in the the evening) I drank more beer and smoked more dope...
>
> (in the morning) I recovered from Friday night... (in the afternoon) I went to the park for a walk... (in the evening) I partied all night, got smashed...
>
> (in the morning) I was sleeping and trying to get rid of my hangover from Friday... (in the afternoon) I smoked up and drank and went to work... (in the evening) I went to a party and got stoned and drunk...

In comparison, a few comments from the women in our study:

> (in the morning) I got up, cleaned the house went and fed some birds I was taking care of... (in the afternoon) I suntanned ... (in the evening) I went over to a friend's for a few drinks than out on a date...
>
> (in the morning) I went to work at 8:30... (in the afternoon) I worked till 6 pm... (in the evening) I ate out at McDonald's then my boyfriend came over and then we tried to find a party...
>
> (in the morning) I got up at 9:30, took a shower... (in the afternoon) I read, went to the store, went to a friend's house... (in the evening) I went to see a bunch of old friends then went back to friend's house and drank...
>
> (in the morning) I suntanned... (in the afternoon) I drank beer and suntanned... (in the evening) I partied and drank more beer...

Further gender differences are noted under the category 'sport activity'. Table 4.15 outlines the results given by 304 students who participated in some type of exercise on the reference Saturday. Females are much more involved in unorganized or individual type sports (81.8%), whereas, males are equally likely to participate in individual (58.8%) and team (41.2%) sports.

Clearly, there are gender dimensions in the form sport participation takes. Consistent with results obtained from the Canada Fitness Survey (1983), girls prefer to 'work-out', go running and engage in more unorganized individual-oriented sports. Males on the other hand engage in a variety of individual and organized team sports. Perhaps it is the case as suggested by Scraton (1987) that the 'culture of femininity', a culture centred around neatness, passivity, physical inactivity, good behaviour and appearance is incompatible with and therefore influences, a young woman's athletic participation. A culture of femininity as defined above would be particularly incompatible with, the competitive nature of team sports.

TABLE 4.15
SELF-REPORTED SPORT PARTICIPATION[42] ON REFERENCE SATURDAY BY SEX

Sporting Activity	Female	Male
Individual/ Unorganized		
Running/Jogging	7.5	3.3
Skating	5.4	1.9
Skiing	7.6	4.3
Working Out	37.7	15.5
Biking	7.5	11.8
Racquet Sports	4.3	9.0
Swimming	7.5	3.3
Hunting/Fishing	4.3	6.6
Golf	-	2.8
Organized/Team Sports		
Hockey	-	5.2
Curling/Bowling	6.5	2.4
Basketball	1.1	6.6
Football/Rugby	-	7.6
Baseball	8.6	11.4
Volleyball	-	1.4
Soccer	2.2	6.2
(N)	93	211

[42]Only those respondents who reported participating in some form of sport or exercise on the reference Saturday are included in this table.

Differences are also noted in relation to work activities. Although equal proportions of males and females spend time at a part-time job on Saturday, male-female differences are evident in types of jobs held. Equal proportions of males and females held jobs in the restaurant and service industry (Refer to Table 4.16). However, a larger proportion of males, than females, work as labourers (19.0% compared to 1.3%) and a larger proportion of females, than males, do clerical/cashier type work (29.8% compared to 14.9%).

TABLE 4.16

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF YOUTH JOBS BY GENDER[43], 1985

Job Type	Female	Male	Total
Clerical/Cashier	29.8 (166)	14.9 (101)	21.6 (267)
Restaurant Work	18.7 (104)	20.6 (140)	19.8 (244)
Sales	28.0 (156)	21.4 (145)	24.4 (301)
Service Industry	22.3 (124)	24.0 (129)	23.2 (136)
Labourers	1.3 (7)	54.9 (129)	11.0 (136)
Total	45.1 (557)	54.9 (678)	100.0 (1235)

[43]For a complete breakdown of gender differences in part-time employment refer to Appendix C.

A larger proportion of females also spend time at nonpaid work (11.9% of females, and 7.4% of males, refer to Table 4.13). It seems that although both young women and men are equally involved in paid employment on Saturday, there remains the gender-typed tendency for young women to spend additional time doing non-paid work in the home. If we delve into this even further, it is clear from these data that high school females are more likely than males to be expected to take on responsibility for household chores. Approximately 7 percent of females spend some time at indoor chores (preparing dinner, cleaning bathrooms, vacuuming, taking care of younger siblings and so on) and 1.6 percent at outdoor chores. On the other hand, males are more likely to take responsibility for outdoor chores. Only 1.8 percent of males send time on indoor chores, compared to 4.1 percent on outdoor chores (shovelling snow, raking the leaves, mowing the lawn). Overall it would appear that girls more so than boys are expected to be responsible for some form of household work. This in itself may restrict other youth culture pursuits. A sexual division of labour within the home may infringe on a girl's resources (time, money, energy) which in turn may affect her youth culture choices. Research on leisure and sport participation among adult women has found this to be the case (see Deem, 1985; Wimbush, 1986; Stanley, 1980; Griffin, 1985). It may be that the relationship between work and leisure for the young women in this study reflect the relationship found in other studies of adult women.

Summary

In summary, gender differences are found in the youth culture activities high school seniors engage in. Teenage males participate more in drinking activities, hobbies, sports and television watching than teenage females but in fewer indoor non-paid work activities or social activities. Although sex differences are found, our results fail to support our first hypothesis. The youth culture pursuits of girls are not sufficiently different from that of boys to warrant a private (home-based)/public (street-based) dichotomous analysis. Little support was found in either the quantitative or qualitative results for the existence of autonomous bi-polar

male/female youth culture forms.

However, our results do affirm that youth culture cannot be studied in isolation. An understanding of gender differences in youth culture necessitates a strategy that attempts to uncover the essential nature of the structural differences of class and ethnicity. We now attempt to move toward a more complete understanding of youth culture, as gendered, by outlining possible 'deceptive distinctions'. We begin by questioning whether the male/female differences in rates of participation observed in the bivariate analyses remain when we control on the underlying influences of 'family class situation' and then 'language spoken at home'. Alternatively, it may be that influences of family class background or primary language spoken at home will further contribute to gender differences in the participation rate of select youth culture pursuits.

DECEPTIVE DISTINCTIONS AND BEYOND

Tri-variate Analyses

At the start of this study it was argued that it is not possible to talk about youth generically. What this means is that we must extend our analysis further. Looking at class, ethnic and gender differences in isolation (as done in the previous bivariate analyses) does not tell us the whole story of youth culture. It provides us only with bits and pieces of understanding. It does tell us that the living standards and ethnic background of the parental home circumscribes the rate of participation in a variety of youth culture pursuits. For example, teens from upper class families are more involved in activities of dating, drinking, sport and club membership, whereas teens from lower income families are more involved in activities of hanging around and cruising the streets. On the other hand, teens who speak a language other than English at home appear to be more restricted in their 'street-based' culture of cruising, drinking, and drugs. What we need to do now is combine the influences of class and gender and language and gender. We need to control for influences of class and ethnicity on the differences in female and male life-world experiences. We need

to see women not simply in comparison with men, but also in relation to influences of class and ethnicity. For while it is true that women share some commonalities simply because they are women in a patriarchal society, it is not necessarily the case that women's experiences are all similar (Henderson et al., 1989; Rhode, 1990) nor for that matter are all men's.

Is Canadian youth culture gendered, and if so, how? This is the central and overriding question that runs throughout this study. To provide an answer to this question it is not enough to simply look at gender differences in the types of activities pursued or in the rates of participation within those activities. We have to take into account that issues of class, ethnicity and gender are interwoven. Class, ethnicity and gender are not complementary social systems that operate in their own sphere. As Connell et al. (1982:180) argue, class relations are not confined to the workplace and gender relations are not restricted to the family.

For the purpose of this study it is important to emphasize that both class and ethnic relations operate inside families and in the ways gender identities may be constructed. For example, youths from working class families and from families in which English is not the primary language spoken may be socialized under a more traditional approach. This in turn may influence the shaping of gender identities which in turn may influence the gender distribution of teenagers' youth culture pursuits.

As feminists we are increasingly realizing the importance of not only focusing on differences between men and women but also on similarities between women and men. We need to understand distinguishing features of both girls' and boys' own private culture and how both class and ethnicity relate to gender identities. Girls with different ethnic and class subjectivities may very well have different experiences of youth culture. These girls in particular may be met with varying expectations on the part of parents, depending on their parents' own views of what is gender appropriate (Griffiths, 1988; Kostash, 1987). By adding the categories ethnicity and class to that of gender, we can begin to reveal the diversity of girls' and boys' experiences of youth culture. For example, are the youth culture pursuits of a girl from a working class family different from a boy's? Are teenage girls and boys equally affected by their cultural background? Do girls from non-English speaking families have similar youth

culture patterns as boys from non-English speaking families? Is a girl's involvement in sports influenced by her family class situation? What about a boy's? It may very well be that the difference in rates of youth culture participation between teenage girls and boys changes when influences of class and ethnic backgrounds are taken into account. This is the issue to which we now direct our analysis. In keeping with our focus on gender dynamics in youth culture, we now turn to examine the gender differences/similarities in the youth culture experiences of girls and boys when controlling on class and primary language spoken at home. The first set of analyses examines the relationship between various youth culture activities by gender, controlling on family class background and then on primary language spoken at home.

DECEPTIVE DISTINCTIONS: GENDER DIFFERENCES AND SIMILARITIES

The results of the tri-variate analyses are similar to the previous bivariate analyses. Immediately apparent is that gender continues to have a significant effect for the majority of activities even when family class and language spoken at home are taken into account. Time spent hanging around is the only pursuit where there are no significant gender differences within the class or language groupings.

The data in Tables 4.17 outlines the participation rates for the ten selected youth culture activities for girls and boys controlling for family class situation. The overall higher rate of participation in youth culture activities, for males, is clearly observed.

More specifically, Table 4.17 presents results which suggest that, for the most part, irrespective of social class, males continue to participate in a greater number of clubs than females, are more likely to regularly participate in sports or other forms of physical exercise, spend greater amounts of time cruising alone or with friends, spend more hours per week at a part-time job, drink more frequently, use drugs and engage in illegal activities more often. There are, however, three notable exceptions: hours per week spent watching television, hours per week spent hanging around and frequency of dating.

TABLE 4.17

YOUTH CULTURE PARTICIPATION RATES BY GENDER BY FAMILY CLASS SITUATION

Activity	Family Class Situation					
	Lower Class		Middle Class		Upper Class	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Club Membership						
Low	57.6	36.2	49.5	40.4	39.1	23.4
Moderate	21.2	39.5	37.6	39.8	36.2	20.7
High	21.2	24.4	12.9	45.1	24.8	30.5
(n)	(69)	(94)	(446)	(550)*	(314)	(344) -
Regular Sport/Exercise						
No	48.5	26.3	40.7	20.4	30.7	13.4
Yes	51.5	73.7	59.3	79.6	69.3	86.6
(n)	(68)	(99) -	(447)	(578)*	(316)	(357)*
Television Viewing						
Low	43.5	40.8	40.2	33.2	45.2	34.7
Moderate	29.0	40.8	42.3	40.7	42.9	41.2
High	27.5	18.4	17.6	26.1	11.9	24.0
(n)	(69)	(98)	(433)	(560) -	(312)	(354)*
Hanging Around						
Low	49.3	53.0	52.7	54.3	62.1	61.1
Moderate	36.2	37.0	42.2	38.0	33.8	34.7
High	14.5	10.0	5.2	7.7	4.1	4.2
(n)	(69)	(100)	(446)	(573)	(314)	(357)

Table 4.17, continued

Activity	Family Class Situation					
	Lower Class		Middle Class		Upper Class	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Cruising Around						
Low	28.8	30.9	33.5	23.2	26.7	16.0
Moderate	51.5	44.3	49.6	45.7	55.4	53.1
High	19.7	24.7	16.9	31.1	17.9	30.9
(n)	(66)	(97)	(415)	(543)*	(307)	(343)*
Dating						
Low	38.2	19.8	22.9	23.0	17.6	17.5
Moderate	23.5	39.6	32.1	39.4	31.4	36.4
High	38.2	40.6	45.0	37.6	51.0	46.0
(n)	(68)	(101)	(436)	(564)	(312)	(354)
Part-time Employment						
Low	41.7	46.5	42.4	43.4	43.9	45.6
Moderate	47.3	35.1	46.2	35.4	46.6	36.1
High	11.1	18.4	11.3	21.2	9.5	18.2
(n)	(72)	(114)	(476)	(627)*	(328)	(379)*
Drinking						
Low	17.4	24.8	20.6	15.4	13.4	10.1
Moderate	55.1	35.8	45.1	34.9	46.0	33.3
High	27.5	39.4	34.3	49.7	40.7	56.6
(n)	(69)	(109)	(466)	(596)*	(322)	(366)*

Table 4.17, continued

Activity	Family Class Situation					
	Lower Class		Middle Class		Upper Class	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Drug Use						
Low	79.4	71.7	77.9	72.8	74.9	64.9
Moderate	14.7	13.2	14.0	14.6	18.2	21.9
High	5.9	15.1	8.1	12.7	6.9	13.2
(n)	(68)	(106)	(456)	(591) ~	(319)	(365)*
Illegal Activity						
Low	81.2	77.6	79.7	78.4	75.5	65.0
Moderate	11.6	10.3	10.5	11.6	12.7	17.2
High	7.2	12.1	9.8	10.1	11.8	17.8
(n)	(69)	(107)	(459)	(597)	(322)	(366)^

* Male-Female differences are significant at $p \leq .001$
~ Male-Female differences are significant at $p \leq .01$
^ Male-Female differences are significant at $p \leq .05$

First of all, boys from middle and upper class backgrounds continue to spend more time watching television than girls from the same family class background. These differences are statistically significant. However, girls from lower class backgrounds watch more television than their male counterparts. The difference in high levels of television viewing (spending more than 15 hours per week watching television) between lower class females (27.5 percent) and males (18.4 percent) is 9.1 percent. The difference, however, is not statistically significant. A similar non-significant relationship is evident between lower class females and males for hours per seek spent hanging around.

Finally, with respect to dating frequency, girls from middle and upper class backgrounds continue to date more frequently than boys from either of these groups. The difference is only statistically significant for teens from middle class backgrounds. However, boys from lower class family backgrounds date more frequently than girls from the same class. The difference is statistically significant. The difference in high levels of dating (at least once a week) between lower class females (38.2 percent) and lower class males (40.6 percent) is 2.4 percent. The difference in moderate levels of dating (date at least one or twice a month) is 16.1 percent and for low levels of dating (date less than once a month) is 18.4 percent. This suggests that females from lower class family backgrounds are more restricted in their pattern of dating than are males from a lower class family background.

The finding that lower class males are more likely than lower class females to be dating on a monthly or weekly basis may be indicative of more traditional gender socialization found within lower class families than middle or upper class families. Families from working class backgrounds tend to be more traditional and place less emphasis on autonomy and individuation for the socialization of their daughters than of their sons (Baumrind, 1980; Hagan, 1988; Hagan et al., 1979; Hauser et al., 1986; Kostash, 1987; Offer and Sabshin, 1984). Daughters within working class families may be more restricted in their behaviours. They are not allowed to go out or date to the same extent as their brothers and at the same time they are expected to spend more time visiting with family and being more fully subsumed in household work (Amato, 1987; Finn, 1987; Griffin, 1985; Wallace, 1991).

Overall, our findings suggest, gender differences are far more prevalent for

middle and upper class teens. For young people from middle class family backgrounds the two activities where no statistically significant gender differences appear are time spent hanging around and involvement in illegal activities. For young people from upper class background the two activities where there exist no statistically significant gender differences are for time spent hanging around and for frequency of dating.

In other words, the only significant changes that we are noting (from the original bivariate analyses) are involvement in illegal activities for middle class youth and frequency of dating for upper class youth. Originally in the bivariate analyses there were significant male female differences in high school seniors' involvement in illegal activities. Males were more likely to engage in illegal activities. When we control for family class background the gender differences dissipate. Males continue to be more highly involved in illegal activities, but the male-female differences are no longer statistically significant.

A similar change is evident for dating behaviour when we control for class --- girls continue to date more frequently than boys; it is just that the difference is no longer statistically significant.

On the other hand there are very few statistically significant gender differences, in participation rates, for youth from lower class family backgrounds. Statistically significant gender differences persist for the activities of dating and drinking only. A larger proportion of lower class males date than lower class females ($p < .05$). In the original bivariate analysis (Table 4.9) 22.4 percent of teenage girls claimed they went on a date less than once a month and 20.8 percent of teenage boys claimed the same. When we control for class, 38.2 percent of lower class females report they date less than once a month. This compares to 19.8 percent of males from a similar class background. Overall there is little change for males, it is females whose pattern of dating changes.

With respect to patterns of drinking, lower class males continue to drink more frequently than their female counterpart ($p < .01$). Lower class females report moderate drinking levels, whereas males from this same group report high levels of drinking frequency.

At first glance these results appear somewhat contradictory. On the surface

it would appear as though male and female youth from below average family class backgrounds are more similar in their youth culture experiences than those from average or above average family class. Only two activities show statistically significant gender differences. But let's examine those two activities. Of the ten activities, lower levels of dating and drinking reflect more traditional gender socialization than any other. One interpretation of this may be that a 'double standard' of morality is coming into play. The 'double standard' refers to a code of morality that views sexual promiscuity and alcohol consumption as a display of masculinity for boys and a sign of non-femininity for girls (Smart and Smart, 1978). The lower levels in frequency of dating and drinking for girls may very well reflect this traditional gender role ideology.

Similar (to the original bivariate analyses) gender differences are found when ethnicity is held constant (refer to Table 4.18), with one exception. Briefly, girls from English speaking families continue to date more frequently than boys from English speaking families. Approximately 50 percent of girls compared to 40 percent of boys date at least one a week. However, boys from non-English speaking families date more frequently than girls from the same group. Approximately 25 percent of males compared to 33 percent of females date at the most once a month and 42.5 percent of males (from non-English speaking backgrounds) compared to 31.8 percent of females date at least once a week.

TABLE 4.18

YOUTH CULTURE PARTICIPATION RATES BY GENDER BY LANGUAGE SPOKEN AT HOME

Activity	Language Spoken at Home			
	English		Non English	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
Club Membership				
Low	40.9	30.2	67.3	44.8
Moderate	38.5	43.8	24.9	36.2
High	20.6	26.0	7.8	19.0
(n)	(641)	(741)*	(165)	(252)*
Regular Sport/Exercise				
No	35.6	18.1	44.9	19.9
Yes	64.4	81.9	55.1	80.1
(n)	(665)	(630)*	(176)	(272)*
Television Viewing				
Low	43.1	34.2	40.8	36.0
Moderate	41.4	41.4	40.3	39.5
High	15.5	24.4	18.9	24.5
(n)	(652)	(758)*	(169)	(261)
Hanging Around				
Low	57.0	57.3	50.6	54.2
Moderate	37.4	35.8	43.0	38.7
High	5.6	6.9	6.4	7.1
(n)	(666)	(525)	(172)	(269)

Table 4.18, continued

Activity	Language Spoken at Home			
	English		Non English	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
Cruising Around				
Low	29.4	20.3	36.3	24.7
Moderate	53.4	47.5	46.2	49.4
High	17.2	32.2	17.5	25.9
(n)	(635)	(739)*	(160)	(251)^
Dating				
Low	19.2	19.3	32.9	25.3
Moderate	30.3	40.1	35.3	32.2
High	50.5	40.6	31.8	42.5
(n)	(654)	(765)*	(161)	(261)^
Part-time Employment				
Low	43.4	44.4	43.0	44.9
Moderate	46.3	36.2	46.2	36.2
High	10.3	19.4	10.8	20.9
(n)	(691)	(832)*	(193)	(294)*
Drinking				
Low	13.5	12.6	35.3	20.1
Moderate	46.1	34.7	46.0	34.4
High	40.4	52.7	18.7	45.5
(n)	(675)	(793)*	(187)	(288)*

Table 4.18, continued

Activity	Language Spoken at Home			
	English		Non English	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
Drug Use				
Low	73.9	66.1	88.8	81.2
Moderate	17.9	19.6	6.9	9.4
High	8.2	14.3	4.3	9.4
(n)	(667)	(784)*	(188)	(287) -
Illegal Activity				
Low	74.7	69.4	91.0	86.4
Moderate	13.0	15.3	5.8	8.0
High	12.3	15.3	3.2	5.6
(n)	(671)	(793)	(189)	(286)

* Male-Female differences are significant at $p \leq .001$
^ Male-Female differences are significant at $p \leq .01$
\- Male-Female differences are significant at $p \leq .05$

Within the bivariate analyses we argued that teenage women are more committed to the concept of dating. Therefore we were not surprised to find teenage women, not teenage men, reporting higher frequency of dating. Now that we have controlled on language spoken at home (or ethnicity) the situation has changed somewhat, but only for those from non-English speaking families. Daughters of non-English speaking parents, similar to daughters of working class parents, appear to be under a 'double standard'. There appears to exist one set of dating rules for them and another for their brothers. These ethnic differences may possibly reflect cultural socialization associated with family and religious membership, where family autonomy is more restricted for youth from non-English speaking families than for youth from English speaking families. Kostash (1987:122) sums it up nicely when she states: "for most girls it is the approval or disapproval of the peer group that controls so much of their dating activity, for the daughters of immigrant parents it is the family that intervenes most decisively". Although both sexes are under greater familial influence within ethnic families, our research results suggest, it is daughters who are more acutely subject to traditional expectations. Unfortunately the numbers of students from different ethnic groups were not sufficiently large enough to permit separate analysis to note true ethnic variations.

Summary

What do these results tell us? They tells us that gender differences persist when both class and ethnicity are taken into account. More often than not, males continue to have higher rates of participation in all youth culture pursuits examined, with the exception of dating. This is not to suggest that class and ethnicity do not contribute to some of the gender differences in youth culture. The data do indicate that factors of class and ethnicity are more acute for female teens than male teens. Females from lower class families and non-English speaking families are most clearly affected. These results suggest that there is support for our second hypothesis: Working class and non-English speaking families share a common interest in traditional gender role socialization. Therefore, youth from both working class and

non-English speaking families are most likely to participate in traditionally defined female and male youth culture pursuits.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

A number of bivariate and tri-variate analyses were conducted, in this chapter, to investigate various differences in both the type and the participation rate of a variety of youth culture pursuits. The initial set of analyses revealed that many of the activities characteristic of Canadian youth culture reflect or are circumscribed by background factors of class, ethnicity and gender. Not completely satisfied that these analyses were providing the entire picture, the analysis of 'between-sex' differences was extended to include a set of open-ended questions, designed to provide for a more complete picture of how Canadian high school seniors spend their out-or-school hours. It is here that gender variations in young people's experiences emerge, although, no clearly defined autonomous female or male culture emerged. These findings led to a more detailed analysis of the nature of the structural differences of class and ethnicity between young women and men. The results of these analyses led to the conclusion that there exists a gendered dimension in the participation rates in a number of activities, but not in the type of activities.

The following chapter proceeds from the bivariate and tri-variate analyses, of the structural elements of control, to a multivariate analysis, of possible relational, instrumental and socialized elements of control, on young people's everyday life-world experiences.

CHAPTER FIVE

BOYS WILL BE BOYS AND GIRLS WILL NOT

INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter focused on the more macro relations of control, on the dynamics of class, ethnicity and gender, on the cultural pursuits of some of Canada's young people. In this chapter we shift away from our concern with the distributional aspects of women and men in youth culture (what activities they pursue) to the relational aspect (how relations of control circumscribe participation in various youth culture pursuits). Understanding elements of control in the life-world of youth directs us to thinking about the problem of dichotomous or autonomous youth cultures in a very different way. It directs us to analyzing the *differential* relations of young women and men to the *same* elements of control and how that may structure gendered youth culture experiences.

Arguments first outlined by Whippler (1970) and later by Kelly (1983), on the leisure pursuits of adults, suggest that genuine insight into Canadian youth culture may be limited when and if we restrict our observations to specific youth culture activities. Understanding specific activities does not allow us to make statements about youth culture in general. It fragments our understanding. In grouping specific activities into themes or categories we are better able to illustrate that a dichotomous public/private, visible/nonvisible, home-centred/street-based understanding of youth culture is not the best approach to take. As will be illustrated throughout this chapter, youth culture in Canada is better understood as falling along a continuum -- with home-centred at one end, street culture at the other, and much overlapping going on in between.

In chapter four, specific youth culture activities were examined. In this chapter, general dimensions of youth behaviour become the focus of interest. It is argued that the findings concerning more general dimensions of youth culture behaviour can more easily be linked to the central issues of social control and gender dynamics.

ESTABLISHING DIMENSIONS OF YOUTH CULTURE

In order to discover any underlying dimensions among youth culture activities an exploratory factor analysis was employed to categorize the 'forced choice' measures of youth culture activities into general youth culture themes according to participation patterns. The purpose here is to explore the extent to which individual youth culture patterns may be thematically classified according to correlations among youth culture participation rates. For example, existing research suggests that activities involving socializing or visiting with friends/relative, or playing cards, or games are correlated and therefore can be thematically classified as 'social leisure'. Watching television, listening to the radio/records, reading newspapers and magazines are correlated activities and can be classified as 'passive leisure' (Connell et al., 1975; Kelly, 1983; Kinsley and Bradley, 1976; Poole and Juchnowski, 1976). Others have found activities involving alcohol and drugs to be highly correlated and therefore these too can be thematically classified. In this study the thematic dimensions of youth culture activities are determined by both the data themselves as well as by existing theoretical literature.

Premise of the Factor Analysis Method

Factor analysis is a data-reduction technique that uses correlations among variables to see whether some underlying pattern exist which enables us to condense many variables into a few underlying constructs (Kim, 1975,1978; Hedderson, 1990). The goal of factor analysis is to identify sets of related variables which may not be directly observable (Norusis, 1985:126).[44]

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[44]Principal-components is the most frequently used technique to extract factors. Principal-components analysis extracts a set of composite variables orthogonal to each other. First the principal-components method calculates a factor that explains the maximum variance of all the variables. Then a second factor is calculated that explains the maximum amount of remaining variance. This second factor is

A successful factor analysis (i) explains relationships of the variable clusters with as few factors as possible, and (ii) provides meaningful or interpretable factors. There are many possible and varied uses of factor analysis. The purpose here is exploratory in that the aim is only to discern patterning of variables with a view to the discovery of possible themes in youth culture activities. In an effort to identify particular youth culture dimensions, it is in no way suggested that all youth have one and only one identifiable youth culture style (ie., jock culture, street-culture, home-centred culture) that can be defined in terms of their actual participation in a selection of activities. It is probably more likely that individuals combine a variety of activities which provide them with balance in their life (Kelly, 1983).

Description of the Four Factor Solution

Based on the number of eigenvalues over 1.0, the principal-components varimax-rotation factor analysis produced four sets of factors from the inter-correlations of ten forced-choice measures of youth culture activities, explaining 59.5% of the variance. (See Table 5.1). The four factors extracted, through the use of varimax-rotation, clearly represent clusters of the questionnaire items. Each of the four factors account for at least ten percent of the variance (See Table 5.1).

Factor 1 contains high loadings[45] (.66 to .83) on the questionnaire items:

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orthogonal to the first --- that is, it cannot be correlated with the first factor. This extraction procedure continues until all the variance in the variables has been explained. The total variance explained by each factor is indicated by a set of eigenvalues. One criterion for determining the number of factors suggests only factors that are associated with eigenvalues of greater than 1.0 should be retained in the model. Factors with variance of less than 1.0 are said to be no better than single variables (Norusis, 1985).

[45] The loading of an item on a particular factor is a measure of the extent to which a given factor is present in that item. Factor loadings can reach a maximum of 1.0 and loadings less than .30 are usually considered unimportant (Crocker and Algina, 1986).

How frequently do you drink beer, wine, or other alcohol?; How frequently do you smoke marijuana or hash? and; How often in the past year have you been involved in any illegal activities (not counting traffic violations)? This factor corresponds to the traditionally defined male 'street-culture'. Each of these activities involves "a spirit of liberation, the opportunity to take risks, and a chance to pursue publicly some of the pleasures that are symbolic of adult male status outside the family" (Hagan, 1988:152). This factor comes closest to representing the public/visible end of a youth culture continuum.

TABLE 5.1

FACTOR LOADINGS OF TEN YOUTH CULTURE ACTIVITIES ON THE FOUR-FACTOR SOLUTION
(Orthogonal Varimax Rotation)

ACTIVITY	FACTORS			
	1.Alcohol/ Drugs	2.Active	3.Sport/ Club	4.Passive
Drink	**.6610**	.3859	.0426	.0058
T.V.	-.1583	.0286	.1090	**.8153**
Hang	.1573	-.2171	-.2376	**.6634**
Cruise	.2279	**.6609**	.0822	.2496
Date	.1595	**.5290**	.1387	-.2625
Clubs	-.0156	-.0526	**.8107**	.0057
Illegal	**.8394**	-.0043	.0510	-.0216
Drugs	**.8181**	.0272	-.0689	-.0193
Sport	.0267	.0860	**.7481**	-.0683
Work	-.0864	**.6851**	-.1250	-.1695
EIGENVALUE	2.20	1.50	1.22	1.03
PERCENT VARIANCE EXPLAINED	22.0	15.0	12.2	10.3

Factor 2 contains loadings (.53 to .68) on items related to: hours per week students spend working at a part-time job; frequency of dating and; hours per week respondent spends just riding around in a car, either alone or with friends. Although each of the activities fall under a general categorization of 'active youth culture' activity, in that they suggest a means to some end, whether money, a mate or an attempt at finding something to do, it does not necessarily mean they are part of a single theoretical dimension. It might mean that a job leads to the money needed to date and drive a car for cruising. Therefore, theoretically it made more sense to define 'part-time employment' as a separate dimension. Thus we now have two 'goal oriented' dimensions: 'social' and 'part-time employment'.

Factor 3 has highly significant loadings ranging from (.75 to .81) on two items: the number of clubs/teams a student is involved in and; whether a student regularly participates in sport or physical exercise. Factor 3 has been identified as 'sport/club'. In both of these items a student would be identified as an active participant.

The final and fourth factor is also comprised of two questionnaire items: hours per week spent watching television and; amount of time respondent spends hanging around doing nothing. Based on research results presented by Kelly (1983) and Connell (1975), this factor has been identified and labelled as a 'passive' activity. This factor comes closest to representing the passive/nonvisible end of a youth culture continuum.

All factors combine variables with loadings high enough to be accepted as strong and potentially reliable. All factors have eigenvalues of 1.0 or better. Each of the factor generated dimensions were operationalized by summing responses to the items which had the highest factor loadings. For example, the factor generated dimension 'alcohol/drugs' contained high loadings on the questionnaire items: How frequently do you drink beer, wine or other alcohol?; How frequently do you smoke marijuana or hash? and; How often in the past year have you been involved in any illegal activities? The responses for these three items were based on a five-point ordinal scale and were coded such that high values indicated greater frequency of participation. Internal reliability was calculated on this index using Cronbach's Alpha. We obtained an alpha of .699. A similar procedure was done for each of the dimensions of 'social', 'passive' and 'sport/club' culture, as shown in Figure 5.1.

FIGURE 5.1

ITEMS COMPRISING DIMENSIONS OF YOUTH CULTURE FOUR FACTOR GENERATED INDEX SCALE WITH RELIABILITIES

FACTOR 1 'Alcohol/Drug Culture' (Reliability = .699 N = 1920)

"How often in the past year have you been involved in any illegal activities?" (1) never to (5) very often

"How frequently do you drink beer, wine or other alcohol?" (1) never to (5) everyday

"How frequently do you smoke marijuana or hash?" (1) never to (5) everyday

FACTOR 2 'Social Culture' (Reliability = .358 N = 1758)

"How often do you go out on dates?" (1) less than once a month to (3) more than once a week

"In a typical week, how many hours do you spend just riding around in a car, either by yourself of with friends?" (1) never to (3) more than six hours

FACTOR 3 'Sport/Club Culture' (Reliability = .280 N = 1800)

"How many clubs, teams or organizations did you belong to this year?" (1) none to (3) three or more

"Do you regularly participate in sports or engage in physical exercises?" (1) no (2) yes

FACTOR 4 'Passive Culture' (Reliability = .388 N = 1840)

"In a typical week, how many hours do you spend watching television? (1) less than six hours (3) greater than fifteen hours per week.

"Not counting the time you spend at school (or at work), how much time do you spend just hanging around and doing nothing?" (1) hardly ever at all to (3) most of the time

ELEMENTS OF CONTROL

Establishing dimensions of youth culture behaviour and developing appropriate measures for them does not reveal anything about the social conditions under which various kinds of youth culture pursuits occur (Whippler, 1970). To this end, a model which takes into account a variety of familial, peer and socialized control variables which may influence young people's participation in various dimensions of youth culture behaviour is developed.

Three general questions guide the following analysis: (1) What role does the family play in shaping the youth culture experiences of urban Canadian high school seniors? (2) To what extent do peer attachments influence dimensions of youth culture participation? and (3) Not wanting to fall into the trap of believing that youth are passive victims of familial and peer control, to what extent do socialized or consensual control factors explain some of the variance in youth culture behaviour?

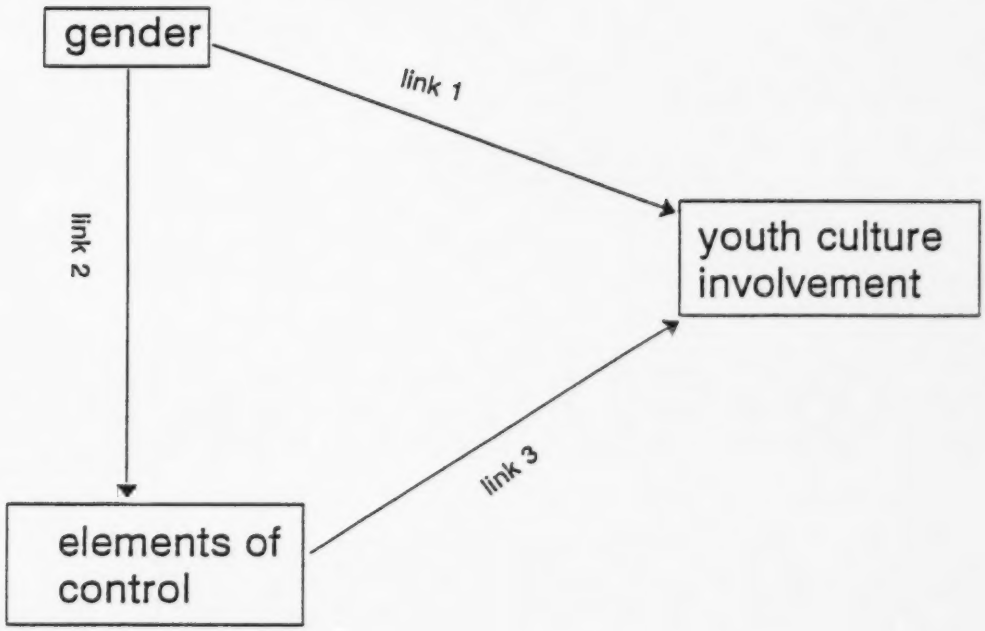
We further need to consider the possibility that parental control will be stronger in some areas of youth culture and peer control will be stronger in others. Steinberg (1987) has argued that despite the tendencies to look to the peer group as the prime shaper of teenage misbehaviour, the family is fundamentally the most important influence. Smith (1985) has argued that in terms of communication, teens rely on their parents for future direction, they rely on peers for current issues. In terms of youth culture pursuits is it possible that parental regulation will be more influential in some activities while not in others? We ask the same question in relation to peer influence as well as consensual or socialized mechanisms of control.

GENDER STRATIFICATION IN THE SOCIAL CONTROL OF YOUTH?

In chapter four we addressed the question of whether there are gender differences in Canadian youth culture participation (Link 1 of our model). Now we need to address the question of whether girls indeed are under greater social control than boys (Link 2). Table 5.2 outlines responses to questions dealing with parental, peer and socialized control --- the extent to which girls and boys experience each

source of control. The most striking observation is the extent to which girls rather than boys are under greater and more varied sources of control.

THEORETICAL MODEL



Control Model of Gendered Youth Culture

Consistent with much of the deviance literature (Hagan, 1988; Hagan et al., 1985, 1987, 1990) and other youth research generally, girls are under greater parental instrumental control than boys. Parents are more likely to know where their daughters are and with whom they are with when not at home, than they are of their sons. Approximately 55 percent of girls strongly agree with the statement that their parents know where they are when they are not at home. This compares to approximately 30 percent of boys (gender differences are significant at $p < .001$). Similar results are evident for parents knowing with whom their children are with when not at home. Forty-nine percent of girls compared to 20 percent of boys state that this is very much the case (gender differences significant at $p < .001$).

In terms of parental relational control, the gender differences are not as clearly defined. Daughters are more likely to be concerned with their parents' opinion of them. This is not much of a concern to sons. Forty nine percent of females strongly agree with the statement: "what my parents think of me is important to me", compared to 37 percent of male young people ($p < .001$). Research by Youniss and Ketterlinus (1987) as well as Youniss and Smollar (1985) found that males and females were equally concerned about their parents' views of them.

As expected, maternal control is more strongly correlated with gender than is paternal control. When in times of trouble both daughters and sons are more likely to go to their mothers first, not their fathers. Over forty-four percent of male and female young people state they would turn to their mothers whereas 30 percent of boys and only 23.4 percent of girls would rely a great deal on their fathers (gender differences significant at $p < .001$). This is consistent with the results of Barnes and Olson (1985), Noller and Callan (1991), and Olson et al. (1983), but not with the results of Poole and Gelder (1985) or Youniss and Smollar (1985) who found that females rely more on their mothers and sons rely more on their fathers. These results also differ from those of Smith and Paternoster (1987) who not only found that males and females report comparable levels of family attachment but that there were no differences between attachment to mothers and fathers. However, at the same time they did report that females are more strongly influenced by informal social controls and males were more responsive to formal controls. They attributed this to the fact that girls tend to have more emotional ties whereas boys are more independent and

TABLE 5.2

GENDER STRATIFICATION IN THE SOCIAL CONTROL OF HIGH SCHOOL SENIORS

Sources of Control	Female	Male
Parental Instrumental		
Parents know where I am when not at home		
Strongly Disagree	5.2	9.7
Disagree	6.4	12.9
Neutral	8.9	17.8
Agree	24.6	29.7
Strongly Agree	54.9	29.8
Total N	862	1067*
Parents know who I am with when not at home		
Strongly Disagree	4.8	9.9
Disagree	7.8	11.2
Neutral	9.0	16.2
Agree	29.4	33.3
Strongly Agree	49.1	29.4
Total N	860	1065*
Parental Relational		
It is important what my parents think of me		
Strongly Disagree	2.0	2.6
Disagree	4.3	6.2
Neutral	13.8	19.9
Agree	30.7	34.3
Strongly Agree	49.2	37.0
Total N	861	1066*

Table 5.2 con't...

Sources of Control	Female	Male
<u>Parental Relational</u>		
In times of trouble I can rely on my mother		
No such person	0.4	1.0
Not at all	8.5	9.7
A little	20.6	20.0
Somewhat	24.0	25.1
Very Much	46.5	44.3
Total N	855	1052
In times of trouble I can rely on my father		
No such person	5.7	5.4
Not at all	20.9	16.9
A little	25.7	25.1
Somewhat	24.3	22.9
Very Much	23.4	29.8
Total N	841	1045*
<u>Peer Relational</u>		
In times of trouble I can rely on my friends		
No such person	0.2	1.0
Not at all	2.9	7.2
A little	11.3	22.5
Somewhat	27.8	32.9
Very Much	57.8	36.5
Total N	850	1045*
Spending time with my friends is important		
Strongly Disagree	0.1	2.0
Disagree	1.5	4.0
Neutral	10.6	14.0
Agree	28.0	33.9
Strongly Agree	59.8	46.1
Total N	861	1062*

Table 5.2 con't...

Sources of Control	Female	Male
<u>Socialized or Consensual Control</u>		
Educational Commitment		
Grade achieved in school		
< 60 %	8.5	15.9
60% - 69%	41.9	46.2
70% - 79%	35.7	27.3
> 80%	13.8	10.6
Total N	904	1156*
Financial Independence		
From Parents		
Low 1.00	19.6	15.2
2.00	47.9	41.2
3.00	25.3	34.7
High 4.00	7.2	8.9
Total N	884	1126*

less influenced by emotional ties.

Additionally, significant gender differences are also noted with respect to peer relational control. What is interesting to note in Table 5.2 is that a significantly higher proportion of females feel that they can rely on their friends in times of trouble, approximately 58 percent of females compared to 36.5 percent of males ($p < .001$). These results are consistent with those of Smith and Paternoster (1987). They too found that females have significantly higher levels of attachment to peers than do males. What is further interesting to note about these particular findings is that girls feel that they can rely on their friends more so than on their fathers or mothers. Boys on the other hand feel they would rely more on their mothers than on their friends or fathers. These findings go against conventional wisdom that girls, in general, are more kin-connected (Chodorow, 1978; Gottman and Levenson, 1988; Noller and Callan, 1991).

Further gender differences are noted with regard to the importance of spending time with friends. Once again, girls more so than boys feel that this is important (60% of females and 46% of males, at $p < .001$).

In terms of independence males are more likely to be financially independent from their parents. On a four-point scale a higher proportion of males than females report higher levels of independence ---- they are more likely to have regular use of a car and they feel they have more money than they need. This is not surprising given two factors. First of all males tend to work more hours per week at a part-time job (as concluded in chapter 4) and consequently they continue to earn more money per week. There are further gender differences in educational commitment. Female high school students' grades are on average higher than male students. A larger proportion of female than male students receive grades over the 70 percent mark ($p \leq .001$).

Summary

The above analysis confirms that there is both a family based and peer based gender stratification of the influences of social control of youth. In terms of potential consensual factors girls appear more committed to school and boys appear to have greater financial independence from their parents. In general, girls are under greater parental instrumental control, parental relational control as well as peer relational control. The question now becomes: Is the greater social control of females connected to gender variations in the various dimensions of youth culture participation (Link 3)? Is this important for understanding and explaining the lower levels in the rate of female participation in normative youth culture?

In posing these questions, the concepts of youth culture and control are linked together by proposing that as in other aspects of life, participation in various youth culture pursuits are structurally determined by a combination of control factors. In chapter four it was concluded that both class and ethnicity play a role in eliciting and suppressing gender-related youth culture pursuits. Girls from working class families and girls from families in which English is not the primary language spoken at home, for example, participate less frequently in sporting activities, drinking activities and various other social activities and more frequently in home-centred activities. We now suggest that other micro relations of control found in the family, the peer group and the 'self' may also elicit or suppress gender divisions within youth culture.

The question we now address is does the greater and more varied sources of control of teenage females circumscribe their participation in various youth culture pursuits. Link 3 now addresses the issue of gender stratification in the social control of teenagers as an element of gendered youth culture.

SOCIAL CONTROL DETERMINANTS IN VARIOUS DIMENSIONS OF YOUTH CULTURE

Multiple Regression Analysis[46]

In order to assess whether these various elements of control play a role in the gender variation in youth culture participation rates, the youth culture dimension items are regressed on each of the independent social control variables. Tables 5.3 - 5.7 report the standardized regression coefficients[47] for gender and each of the potential mechanisms of control. In the first part of our analysis we estimate the following equations:

$$\text{dimension of youth culture} = a + b_1\text{gender} \quad [1]$$

$$\text{dimension of youth culture} = a + b_1\text{gender} + b_2\text{inst} \quad [2]$$

$$\text{dimension of youth culture} = a + b_1\text{gender} + b_2\text{parrel} \quad [3]$$

$$\text{dimension of youth culture} = a + b_1\text{gender} + b_2\text{peerrel} \quad [4]$$

---

[46]Multiple regression, as employed in this study, is a general descriptive statistical technique used to analyze the relationship between a dependent youth culture dimension and a set of independent control variables. The factor generated indexes are regressed on the socialized control variables of educational commitment and independence, both parental relational and instrumental control variables, and the peer relational control variable.

[47]Since the six independent variables are measured in different units, it is difficult to determine the relative influence of each independent variable on the basis of the unstandardized regression coefficient (b) and therefore we report the standardized regression coefficient.

$$\text{dimension of youth culture} = a + b_1\text{gender} + b_2\text{indep} \quad [5]$$

$$\text{dimension of youth culture} = a + b_1\text{gender} + b_2\text{commitment} \quad [6]$$

$$\text{dimension of youth culture} = a + b_1\text{gender} + b_2\text{inst} + b_3\text{parrel} + b_4\text{peerrel} + b_5\text{indep} + b_6\text{commitment} \quad [7]$$

This set of equations is estimated for each of the five youth culture dimensions: passive, social, work, sport, alcohol/drugs. Results reported in tables 5.3 - 5.7 can be used to assess whether gender has an independent effect on a particular dimensions of youth culture, whether each of the elements or control has in independent effect or, whether the effects of gender are mediated by a mechanism of control in its effect on participation in selected youth culture pursuits. The first equation examines the direct effect of gender[48] on the rate of youth culture participation. The first equation is of interest for comparison purposes only. Equation 1 considers the main effect of sex on youth culture; this effect represents the first part of our theoretical model. The remaining equations explore the additive effects of gender and one element of control at a time on youth culture participation rates.

The first column of tables 5.3 - 5.7 present the regression of youth culture on sex [1], providing a measure of the total effects of sex. The second column adds parental instrumental control [2]. The third column adds the effects of parental relational control to sex [3]. The forth column adds the effect of peer relational control to sex [4]. The fifth column adds the effects of financial independence from parents [5]. The sixth column adds the effects of school commitment to sex [6]. The seventh column permits us to assess which control variables, controlling for other variables, are most highly correlated with dimensions of youth culture activities.

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[48] Gender is a dummy variable with women coded as 1 and men coded as 0.

TABLE 5.3

SOCIAL CONTROL DETERMINANTS OF PASSIVE YOUTH CULTURE[49] AMONG HIGH SCHOOL SENIORS: MULTIPLE REGRESSION EQUATIONS[50]

Elements of Control	Equations[51] [1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]
GENDER[52]	-.065	-.060	-.065	-.039^	-.087^	-.052	-0.50^
intercept	1.68						
R^2	.004						
PARINST		-.018^					-.004^
intercept		1.71					
R^2		.004					
PARREL			-.042^				.007^
intercept			1.76				
R^2			.005				
PEERREL				-.109			-.090
intercept				1.96			
R^2				.015			
INDEP					-.202		-.186
intercept					1.98		
R^2					.044		
COMMIT						-.117	-.099
intercept						1.85	2.34
R^2						.017	.067

[49] Within equation [7], also controlled on are family class situation, primary language spoken at home, and city.

[50] Reported here are the standardized multiple regression coefficient (Beta).

[51] ^ not significant at $p \leq .05$

[52] Female = 1, Male = 0

TABLE 5.4

SOCIAL CONTROL DETERMINANTS OF SOCIAL YOUTH CULTURE[53] AMONG HIGH SCHOOL SENIORS: MULTIPLE REGRESSION EQUATIONS[54]

Elements of Control	Equations[55] [1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]
GENDER[56]	-.057	-.037^	-.057	-.093	-.041^	-.044^	-0.60
intercept	1.62						
R^2	.003						
PARINST		-.081					-.086
intercept		1.77					
R^2		.009					
PARREL			-.007^				-.019^
intercept			1.64				
R^2			.003				
PEERREL				.157			.155
intercept				1.19			
R^2				.027			
INDEP					.165		.158
intercept					1.36		
R^2					.030		
COMMIT						-.124	-.079
intercept						1.82	1.51
R^2						.018	.104

[53] Within equation [7], also controlled on are family class situation, primary language spoken at home, and city.

[54] Reported here are the standardized multiple regression coefficient (Beta).

[55] ^ not significant at $p \leq .05$

[56] Female = 1, Male = 0

TABLE 5.5

SOCIAL CONTROL DETERMINANTS OF PART-TIME EMPLOYMENT YOUTH CULTURE[57] AMONG HIGH SCHOOL SENIORS: MULTIPLE REGRESSION EQUATIONS[58]

Elements of Control	Equations[59] [1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]
GENDER[60]	-.065	-.065	-.066	-.088	-.033^	-.055	-0.36^
intercept	1.23						
R^2	.004						
PARINST		.001^					-.007^
intercept		1.22					
R^2		.004					
PARREL			.011^				-.037^
intercept			1.18				
R^2			.004				
PEERREL				.099			.093
intercept				.685			
R^2				.013			
INDEP					.287		.327
intercept					.308		
R^2					.085		
COMMIT						-.095	.093
intercept						1.52	.782
R^2						.013	.127

[57] Within equation [7], also controlled on are family class situation, primary language spoken at home, and city.

[58] Reported here are the standardized multiple regression coefficient (Beta).

[59] ^ not significant at $p \leq .05$

[60] Female = 1, Male = 0

TABLE 5.6

SOCIAL CONTROL DETERMINANTS OF SPORT/CLUB YOUTH CULTURE[61] AMONG HIGH SCHOOL SENIORS: MULTIPLE REGRESSION EQUATIONS[62]

Elements of Control	Equations[63] [1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]
GENDER[64]	-.175	-.179	-.178	-.201	-.160	-.192	-.193
intercept	2.75						
R^2	.031						
PARINST		.016^					-.015^
intercept		2.70					
R^2		.031					
PARREL			.084				.045^
intercept			2.43				
R^2			.038				
PEERREL				.113			.069
intercept				2.20			
R^2				.043			
INDEP					.144		.095
intercept					2.35		
R^2					.051		
COMMIT						.156	.081
intercept						2.34	1.35
R^2						.055	.133

[61] Within equation [7], also controlled on are family class situation, primary language spoken at home, and city.

[62] Reported here are the standardized multiple regression coefficient (Beta).

[63] ^ not significant at $p \leq .05$

[64] Female = 1, Male = 0

TABLE 5.7

SOCIAL CONTROL DETERMINANTS OF ADULT ORIENTED YOUTH CULTURE[65] AMONG HIGH SCHOOL SENIORS: MULTIPLE REGRESSION EQUATIONS[66]

Elements of Control	Equations[67] [1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]
GENDER[68]	-.118	-.053	-.115	-.152	-.114	-.104	-.093
intercept	1.77						
R^2	.015						
PARINST		-.263					-.260
intercept		2.23					
R^2		.081					
PARREL			-.088				-.024^
intercept			1.76				
R^2			.022				
PEERREL				.149			.151
intercept				1.38			
R^2				.036			
INDEP					.035^		.024^
intercept					1.72		
R^2					.016		
COMMIT						-.130	-.122
intercept						1.77	2.17
R^2						.031	.210

[65] Within equation [7], also controlled on are family class situation, primary language spoken at home, and city.

[66] Reported here are the standardized multiple regression coefficient (Beta).

[67] ^ not significant at $p \leq .05$

[68] Female = 1, Male = 0

THE EFFECTS OF GENDER ON YOUTH CULTURE PARTICIPATION RATES

Comparison of the sex coefficient in the first column of each table allows us to test the difference in the effect of gender on each dimension of youth culture. This tells us whether one form of youth culture is more gender differentiated than another form. By comparing the results of estimating equation [1] in each of the five youth culture dimensions, that is the coefficients in column one of tables 5.3 - 5.7, we are again provided with a test of hypothesis 1: The youth culture pursuits of girls are sufficiently different from that of boys to warrant a private (home-based)/public (street-based) dichotomous analysis.

The results in tables 5.3 - 5.7 which examine the effects of gender on dimensions of youth culture are consistent with the results outlined in chapter four on the effects of gender on isolated youth culture pursuits. As they should be, given that dimensions of youth culture are comprised of combined isolate pursuits. The effect of gender is significant in each of the dimensions of youth culture (equations 1). However, we fail to accept hypothesis 1. The gender differences are not large enough to suggest the existence of two distinct and polarized youth cultures. The results suggest that the gender differences are more pronounced for traditional male defined youth culture. For example, gender differences are larger in alcohol/drug culture (beta= -.118; $p \leq .001$) and sport culture (beta= -.175; $p \leq .001$). Gender differences are also larger in work, social and passive youth culture and although the regression coefficients are small they are statistically significant ($p \leq .01$).

THE EFFECTS OF SOCIAL CONTROL ON YOUTH CULTURE PARTICIPATION RATES

Results in Tables 5.3 to 5.7 further enable us to compare the effects of each of the control variables. By comparing the effects of each of the independent variables across the tables we are able to determine which forms of control are more strongly related to the various dimensions of youth culture. Comparison of these results will tell us whether social control theory can be extended to normative youth

culture. Remember here that normative youth culture includes the spectrum of youth culture with conformist, passive culture at one end and the more deviant, street based culture at the other end.

Overall, it is noted, (Tables 5.3 - 5.7, equations [7]) that the five control variables account for the least amount of variance in passive youth culture (only 6.7 percent). The equations for sport/club, social, part-time work and alcohol/drug youth culture account for 13.3 percent, 10.4 percent, 12.7 percent and 21 percent, respectively. These initial results suggest that perhaps social control theory is more applicable to traditionally defined male youth culture pursuits of sports, alcohol and drugs. But let's first examine the individual dimensions of control before drawing any final conclusions.

Control and Passive Youth Culture

Considering first the equations for passive youth culture it is evident, in Table 5.3, that the largest net and independent effect is independence (R_2= .044; beta= -.202). Those who have the least amount of financial independence from parents have higher levels of passive youth culture. In other words, the more teenagers are financially independent the less likely they are to be found hanging around the house or to be watching television. If they have money and the use of a car they are not going to be found sitting at home. Other variables with significant negative effects are students' educational commitment (beta= -.117) and peer relational control or attachment (beta= -.109).

Control and Social Youth Culture

The next analysis, presented in Table 5.4 examines factors influencing the more 'social' dimension of youth culture. Of the five control factors, two have a significant negative effect and two have a significant positive effect on young people's social experience (Table 5.4). Young people who are under greater instrumental

control (beta= -.081) report lower levels of social activity. In other words, parents' supervision would appear to restrict a young persons social pursuits and dating habits. Similarly, young people who report greater academic commitment report lower levels of social participation (beta= -.124). Youth who are more committed to academic and future achievements are less involved in boys, girls and dating. On the other hand, independence from parents and strong peer attachments have significant positive effects on levels of social participation (beta= .165 and .157, respectively).

Control and Part-Time Work Culture

Results in Table 5.5 indicate a similar relationship is found for part-time work experience as was found for social experience. For example, if we compare columns four, five and six of Table 5.4 to the corresponding columns in Table 5.5 a similar relationship is evident for the socialized control factors of independence from parents and school commitment. Greenberger and Steinberg (1986) and Bergin (1991) found the same negative pattern between school commitment and hours per week spent at a part-time job. They suggest that it is not realistic to expect a positive relationship between grades and part-time employment because time on the job is time away from academic pursuits. The only other control factor which displays a significant independent effect, on part-time work experience is peer relational control. Young people who have strong peer attachments tend to work more hours per week (beta= .099). Overall, Table 5.5 suggests that mechanisms of socialized and peer control are more influential in determining work culture than parental control.

Control and Sport Culture

For sport/club youth culture (Table 5.6) gender has the largest net additive effect (beta= -.175). Girls' level of sport/club youth culture is significantly lower than boys. Each of the consensual/socialized control factors also display significant positive net effects, as does peer relational control (beta= .113). The more committed to school (beta= .156) and the greater the financial independence (beta=

.144) the greater the sport participation.

Control and Alcohol/Drug Youth Culture

The final set of analyses, presented in Table 5.7, examines factors of control influencing participation in an 'alcohol/drug' youth culture. This dimension of youth culture is most similar to research conducted within the deviance tradition. Immediately apparent in Table 5.7 is that all but one of the variables of control are found to influence youth involvement in alcohol or drug pursuits. Essentially this is the one variable which is most deviant or street-based; hence parental control effects are to be expected more so than for social or sport culture. Four of the five control factors display significant effects on alcohol/drug oriented endeavours. For the first time parental instrumental control contributes the largest net and independent additive effect (R_2 = .081; beta = -.263). Other significant negative effects are evident for educational commitment (beta = -.130) and sex (-.118). Parental relational control also has a significant negative effect on alcohol/drug involvement (beta = -.088). In addition to these three negative effects, one significant positive effect is also displayed in this last regression equation. Young people who have strong peer attachments are more likely to pursue alcohol or drug related activities (beta = .149). It appears that attachment to parents is related to the extent to which youth get involved in more street based culture of alcohol and drug use. Here we find that high levels of drinking is associated with weak parental attachments and strong peer attachments.

Summary

Three facts emerge from the comparison of independent effects of each of the five control variables. They are, first, that peers more so than parents have influence on youth culture participation rates. For example, when it is important for a student to spent time with their friends and to be able to rely on their friends, they spend

less time at home watching television and hanging around doing nothing and more time involved in sports, part-time work, social activities and activities associated with drinking and drugs. Comparison of relative effects across Tables shows that peer relational control is a significant predictor across each youth culture dimension, whereas parental relational control shows significant effects across only two of the five youth culture dimensions: alcohol/drug oriented and sport culture. A cautionary note should be mentioned here. It should not be concluded from these results that young people are totally concerned with, or under the influence of, the opinions of their peers to the exclusion of their parents. It is not a question of total peer versus total parental influence. In a young person's emergence towards independence the peer group plays an important role, but, at the same time, young people remain responsive to their parents' opinions and concerns. Bibby and Posterski (1985) come to this conclusion in their across-Canada study as did Smith (1985) in his study of parental versus peer influence in the lives of American youth. Smith (1985) concluded that parental influence declines during mid-youth years; however, there is no evidence of any serious rejection of parental influence by young people. "Indeed, there appears to be a remarkable amount of deference toward parental ideas and particularly parental regulations, coupled with this is the lack of any strong evidence for the replacement of the influence of parents by that of peers" (Smith, 1985:155). Perhaps it is the case, as others have suggested, that both males and females rely on their parents for decisions which have implications for the future, such as educational and occupational choices and on peers in relation to current issues and identity needs, such as social activities, dress, hobbies, sports and reading material (Hendry, 1983; Sebald and White, 1980; Smith, 1987; Wilks, 1986). Thus, in areas of perceived parental uncertainly, namely, youth culture pursuits a young person is understandably more likely to be influenced by his or her peer group.

Similar to attachment to parents, supervision of youth by parents also shows few significant effects. Direct or instrumental parental control has a significant effect on the youth culture dimensions of social activities and alcohol/drug oriented pursuits. That parental instrumental control should influence dating and cruising as well as drinking, drug use and illegal activities should come as no surprise. Both social control theory and power control theory, as outlined in chapter two, argue that

there is a negative linear relationship between direct or instrumental parental control and alcohol/drug oriented or risk taking behaviour. The more likely parents are to know where and with whom their children are, the less likely young people are to engage in risk taking behaviour. It would seem then that parental supervision minimises the chances of young people becoming involved in the more street-based youth culture. Those who spend a lot of time unsupervised or who are more loosely controlled by parents are more likely to engage in a range of such risk-taking, street-based behaviours (Block, Block and Keyes, 1988; Kwakman et al., 1987; Thorne and DeBlassie, 1985).

The second fact to emerge is the large proportion of students who are influenced by the more personal or socialized elements of control in their life --- educational commitment and financial independence from parents. For example, the higher a students educational commitment the lower their rate of participation in passive, social, part-time employment and alcohol/drug oriented culture. Results by Bergin (1992) on high school youth involvement in after school activities in the United States, similarly found a negative correlation between a students grade point average (GPA) and the time they spent at a part-time job, but found no relationship between GPA and television viewing or time spend hanging out with friends. On the other hand, similar to results of Bergin (1992), high grades and future aspirations have a positive effect on sport/club youth culture. Freedman and Thornton (1990) offer some possible explanations. They suggest there is a connection between a students grades and future aspirations and their willingness to defer current gratification, such as drinking, premarital sex, consumer goods, drugs etc., in order to attain future goals. Alternatively it could simply be that young people who expend a greater time commitment to academic pursuits have neither the time nor the inclination for more social endeavours. It may also be the case that students who are forced to work too much during school do not have time to spend on the schoolwork, which causes their grades to suffer. Independence has an effect on each of the dimensions save alcohol/drug oriented.

The third fact to emerge is the low R^2 in all of the multivariate analyses. The R^2 was lowest for passive youth culture (R^2 =.067) and highest for the more risk-taking culture of alcohol and drugs (R^2 =.210). The low R^2 suggest that other factors

may be accounting for various youth culture involvements. Other factors may be: parental involvement, peer involvement, parent-teen conflict, availability of facilities or alternative youth culture involvement. These and other possible explanations will be explored in the following chapter.

At present it appears that the most important control factor for high school seniors on their youth culture pursuits is their own sense of independence and educational commitment, followed by the importance of friends in their life. In keeping with the central focus of this study, we now address the question of whether these factors of control mediate the effects of gender on rates of youth culture participation (found in chapter 4).

THE CONSEQUENCES OF SEXUAL STRATIFICATION IN THE SOCIAL CONTROL OF YOUTH

We now try to determine how or why males overall have higher rates of youth culture participation. A gendered theory of youth culture attempts to specify how elements of control operate here. The premise of our theory is that girls are under greater and more varied sources of control within the family, the peer group and society generally (as concluded in the beginning of this chapter) and this places restrictions on their youth culture. Equations [2] through [6] (in Tables 5.3 through 5.7) test this premise by bringing into our analysis the five elements of control emphasize in our theory: parental instrumental, parental relational, peer relational, independence and commitment.

Consideration of the change in effect estimated for sex in any one column in relation to the first column tells us if sex has an independent and separate effect on youth culture participation or if some of the gender differences in youth culture participation is mediated by the element of control found in that particular column. That is to say, if the beta value represented by link 1 decreases when link 3 is introduced we can then say that the gender differences in youth culture are partially attributed to different patterns of control imposed on girls compared to boys.

Equation [2] introduces parental instrumental control into our analysis. Only

within two youth culture dimensions does consideration of direct or instrumental parental control reduces the effects of gender. However, on average, males maintain a slightly higher rate of participation in alcohol/drug culture (beta = -.053) and social culture (beta = -.037). Note that the sex coefficient in the social dimension is not only reduced but now is nonsignificant. The reduction in the coefficient suggests that the difference in parental instrumental control accounts only for the higher rate of participation of males in alcohol/drug oriented and social youth culture. In other words, consistent with the results of Hagan, girls are under greater parental surveillance and this in turn limits their social and alcohol/drug oriented youth culture. The greater surveillance of daughters, however, has no influence on their passive, part-time work or sport culture.

We turn next to the influence of parental relational control on youth culture participation rates introduced in equation [3]. Within each youth culture dimensions, consideration of parental attachment and support has no impact on the effect of gender on rate of participation. Thus although girls have stronger bonds of attachment and support to parents it has little discernable influence on their rate of youth culture participation.

Next we consider the influence of peer relational control [4]. Interesting to note, peer control intensifies the relationship between sex and four of the five youth culture dimensions (all but passive youth culture). A separate analysis was conducted to determine if the increase in Beta suggested an interaction effect. The results of this analysis (not shown here)[67] indicate that there are no substantial nor significant differences in the influence of peer attachment on any of the youth culture dimensions between females and males. A possible explanation for the very modest suppression effects may be attributable to the different peer group structures of girls and boys. Female friendship groups tend to be smaller and more intimate. Perhaps the more intimate peer group structure exerts greater pressure toward peer group similarity. The larger peer group structure may permit for greater individuation and

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[67]The test for an interaction effect involved regressing the effects of peer attachment on each of the youth culture dimensions for males and females separately. The results suggested that the effect of peer attachment (beta) was quite similar for female and male youth, within each of the youth culture dimensions.

self-expression.

The final intervening variables are introduced in equations [5] and [6]. Equation [5] introduces the effect of independence from parents. Financial independence from parents has minimal effect on changing the beta for sex. There is a slight reduction in the effect of sex on sport culture (beta= -.160) a slight reduction in work (beta= -.033) a minimal reduction in social (beta= -.041) and a slight increase in the effect of sex on passive youth culture (beta= -.087).

Finally we introduce the influence of school commitment on youth culture participation rates. With respect to a change in the effect of gender when commitment is introduced into the equation we find that there is no significant changes in the effect of gender on alcohol/drug oriented, work, social or passive culture but there is a slight increase noted in the effect of sex on sport culture.

Summary

First, given that females, far more so than males, are under greater familial and peer control the micro elements of control examined here did not impinge on gendered variations in youth culture involvement. And second, although peer relational control is more of a distinguishing factor than familial control factors, socialized control factors play a far more significant role. It would appear that individual youth regulate their own behaviour through some process of independence, autonomy and self-directedness. At the same time it must be realized that consensual/socialized control does not operate in isolation from structural, parental and peer influences of control. All four elements of control must be seen as mutually reinforcing. A sense of attachment to parents should facilitate both an acceptance of and a submission to parental instrumental control (Hagan, 1991; Hagan et al., 1979; 1987; 1990; Nye, 1958). The same integration into the family should result in deeper internalization of parental expectations through consensual elements of control which influence personal choices in youth culture pursuits. Overall, the lack of impact of the familial, peer and socialized control variables on the relationship between gender and youth culture participation rates suggest that other factors may be accounting for

gender differences. Possible explanations will be explored in the following chapter.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

In this chapter, five dimensions of youth culture, rather than specific youth culture activities, were the focus of analysis. Multivariate regression analysis was employed in an attempt to determine possible relational, instrumental and consensual elements of control, which may mediate or suppress gender divisions in young people's everyday youth culture experiences.

As a result of the analyses and findings in this chapter we fail to accept hypothesis 3: Girls are under greater parental instrumental and relational control and therefore develop more home-centred than street-centred culture forms of expression. Although we did find that girls rather than boys are under greater familial control, only parental instrumental control showed any mediating effect between gender and alcohol/drug oriented and social culture. This finding, that girls are under greater familial control, is consistent with that of Hagan's power control theory.

We also fail to accept hypothesis 4: Boys have stronger peer attachments than parental attachments and therefore develop more public than private cultural forms of expression. In the first instance girls and not boys appear to have stronger peer attachments and in the second instance although not significantly so it would appear that girls' youth culture choices are more affected by peer influence.

Little support was found for our final hypothesis. It was hypothesized that socialized or consensual control factors of independence and commitment mediate the effects of gender on youth culture participation. Although we did find that influences of educational commitment and independence from parents mediate the effects of sex more so than familial control the effect was indeed minimal.

In failing to accept the hypotheses several explanations need to be addressed. To begin with, the various elements of control operate differently within each dimension of youth culture. For example, elements of parental and structural control operate in terms of alcohol/drug oriented youth culture. Elements of peer and socialized control play a significant role in the more passive, social and part-time

work dimension of youth culture, but there are no significant gender differences in their effects. These and related issues will be explored further in the following chapter, when we address the issue of extending social control theory to normative youth culture.

CHAPTER SIX

YOUTH IN FOCUS

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study has been to question the existence of autonomous male/female youth culture forms in Canada and identify possible processes of control which may contribute to the development of 'distinctive cultures'. In this chapter we focus on the meaning and interpretation of the results obtained in chapters four and five, in relation to the two central research questions addressed by this study. The chapter begins with a summary and discussion of the general research findings. The interpretations and explanations focus on two questions: (1) whether there exist identifiable autonomous female and male youth cultures, in Canada and (2) whether social control theory can be extended to provide further understanding of normative gendered youth culture. Following this, we address the question of reconceptualizing a model of youth culture in Canada. The chapter concludes with some recommendations for future research on gendered dimensions of youth culture in social theory and social change.

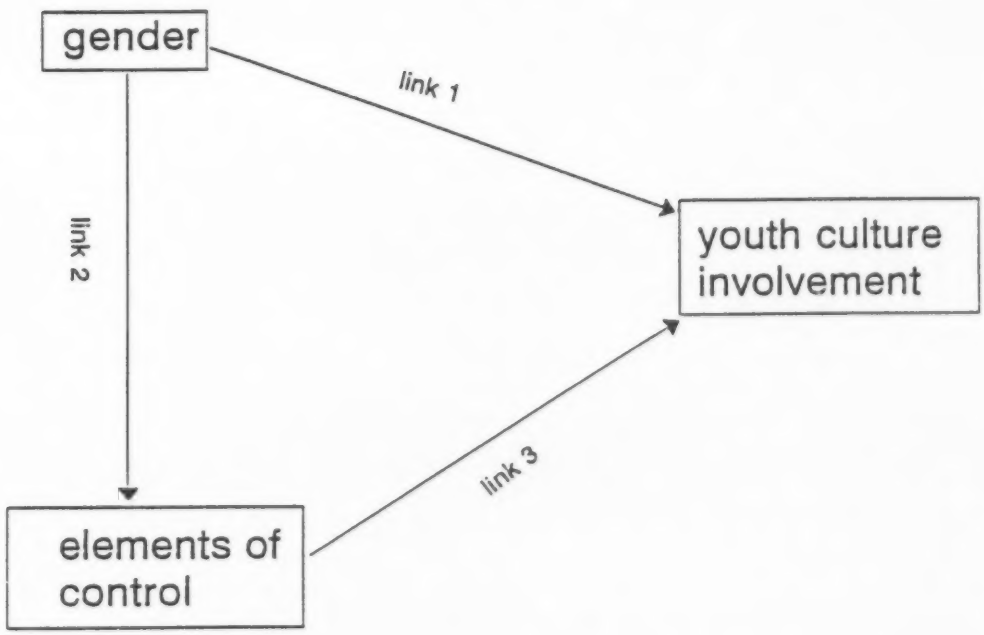
SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

The study began in chapter two with a review of two separate bodies of sociological youth research and literature: the public world of boys, a traditional marxist model and the private world of girls, a liberal feminist model. Also reviewed were several Canadian government reports and academic studies which addressed particular and isolated youth activities. This latter review identified the relative paucity of theoretically-based research on Canadian youth culture. The chapter concluded with a review of theories of social control which have been most prominent in traditional male-defined street culture research.

The intention of chapter two was two-fold: first, to explore the ways in which

the private/public paradigm has been central to our conceptualization of youth culture in western society and second; to propose the importance of synthesizing a feminist theory of youth culture and social control theory as used in the delinquency or street culture literature. It was argued in chapter 2 that elements of control found correlated with traditional street culture behaviour and experiences might also provide insight into everyday gendered youth culture experiences.

Chapter three extended this argument by sketching out a theoretical model of gender, social control and normative youth culture.



Control Model of Gendered Youth Culture

Link 1 of the model addresses the relationships between gender and various dimensions of youth culture. Link 2 addresses the relationship between gender and various elements of control and link 3 addresses the effects of the various elements of control on the various dimensions of youth culture. Combined the three links of the theoretical model address the two central research questions proposed in this study.

Chapter four addressed the first link of our theoretical model, the question of whether there are indeed gender variations in Canadian youth culture. We began first by developing a general portrait of the Canadian youth culture scene. Here bi-variate and tri-variate analyses were presented on a variety of youth culture activities. Our interest was in what Canadian young people did, when they were not in school. The first question addressed was the relative importance of individual background factors, of language spoken at home, sex, parental financial situation and city region, on the restriction or promotion of normative youth culture in Canada. The findings outlined in the first part of the chapter revealed that the youth culture pursuits of young men and women were more similar than distinct. It was primarily in the rate of participation that significant sex, city, class and ethnic differences were found. In general, ethnicity, region and social class all had marginal effects on youth culture participation, however, gender remained the most pertinent factor. More specifically, time spent hanging around doing nothing was the only activity examined in which there was no significant gender difference in level of participation. In general there were consistent statistically significant gender differences, with boys showing higher levels of participation in each of the pursuits (excluding dating).

Various city differences were found in terms of the more 'street-based' activities of hanging around, cruising, drinking, drug use and illegal pursuits. Students from Toronto, for example, tend to spend greater amounts of time just hanging around doing nothing. Youth from Edmonton tend to cruise more and youth from Sudbury belong to more clubs, they drink more, they do more drugs and they more frequently engage in illegal activities, than youth from either Toronto or Edmonton.

Language spoken at home proved to be a significant factor in half of the activities examined. Young people who speak a language other than English at home appear to be more restricted in terms of the more 'street-based' activities of cruising,

drinking, drug use, and illegal pursuits as well as dating and club memberships.

Class effects were also noted across a number of youth culture activities. There is a negative relationship between class and amount of time young people spend hanging around doing nothing and the amount of time they spend cruising in a car either by themselves or with friends. A positive linear relationship is evident for the activities of dating, drinking, sport participation and club membership. A curvilinear relationship is evident between family class situation and drug use as well as illegal pursuits. Youth whose family class situation is defined as middle class tend to participate least in both the use of drugs as well as illegal acts.

These results affirm that Canadian young people are not a homogeneous group and that an understanding of youth culture, in Canada, must take factors of class and ethnicity, for example, into account.

Given that an examination of gender differences in isolation was not sufficient to unravel the whole story of gendered youth culture, chapter four also addressed the question of whether class and ethnic variations operate in eliciting gender variations in the everyday life-world experiences of young people. Here our intent was to examine how relations of class and ethnicity may operate within families and influence the way gender identities are constructed. Certain gender differences remained. Factors of class and ethnicity were found to be more of a determining factor for young women than for young men in affecting many of their youth culture experiences. The results suggest that traditional gender-role socialization operates more strongly for youth from working class and ethnic family backgrounds. There appeared to be greater emphasis on autonomy and independence for sons and kin-connectedness and independence for daughters. These influences in turn were found to shape the different youth culture pursuits of girls compared to boys. In general, daughters from lower class and non-English speaking families appear to be more 'gender' restricted in their behaviours. This restrictiveness may be indicative of more traditional gender socialization as well as a 'double standard' of morality characteristic of more lower class and ethnic family situations. For example, female youth from working class and non-English speaking families dated less frequently, consumed alcohol less frequently, watched more television and spent more time visiting with family than their male counterpart.

Not completely satisfied that these analyses were providing the entire picture of the out-of-school life-world of youth, we continued our analyses by directing our attention to a set of open-ended qualitative questions addressing 'one Saturday in the life' of high school seniors. On the surface, the results of this analysis were consistent with the previous analyses in that support was not provided for the existence of autonomous male and female youth culture forms. Beneath the surface-level analysis, however, traditional gender-role-identities were very much apparent. These will be elaborated upon in our subsequent discussion of the various limitations of a private/public youth culture analysis.

Chapter five examined links 2 and 3 of our theoretical model. In chapter four, specific youth culture activities were examined, through the use of bivariate and tri-variate analyses. In chapter five, multivariate analyses were used to examine general dimensions[68] of youth behaviour. By shifting away from the distributional aspects of gendered youth culture to the relational aspects, it was the intention of chapter five to illustrate that the youth culture of teenage women is subject to different elements of control and operates within different socially defined norms, from that of teenage men.

The results in chapter five confirm many of the findings in the deviance (Box, 1983; Hagan et al., 1979; 1987; 1990) as well as in the family dynamics literature (Adams and Jones, 1983; Amato, 1987; Noller and Callan, 1991; Thorne and DeBlassie, 1985). There is indeed a gender stratification in the continuum of the social control of young people (Link 2 of our theoretical model). Girls are under greater and more varied sources of consensual and overt elements of social control.

In contrast to their knowledge of their sons whereabouts, parents are more likely to know where their daughters are and with whom when they are not at home. High school females are more likely to be concerned about their parents' opinion of them. Additionally, they feel that they can rely on their friends, in times of trouble, more than do high school males. In terms of independence and socialized or

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[68]Through the use of exploratory factor analysis, five dimensions of youth culture were identified: passive, sport/club, social, paid employment and alcohol/drug oriented.

consensual control, high school females tend to be more financially dependent on their parents and more educationally committed.

The primary goal of chapter five was to determine whether the greater social control of females was connected to gender variations in the rate of youth culture participation. We began with an additive model to determine whether, first of all, there exists a relationship between the various elements on a continuum of control and youth participation rates in various cultural dimensions. The results from these analyses indicated that it was elements of educational commitment, financial independence from parents and peer attachment and support rather than parental supervision or attachment and support that influence the rate of participation in a variety of normative youth culture pursuits. Additionally, these elements operated similarly across a variety of dimensions of youth culture, with a few notable exceptions. The higher a student's grade point average the less likely they were to participate in passive, social, part-time work and alcohol/drug oriented youth culture and the more likely they were to participate in a culture of sport and physical exercise. The greater their financial independence from parents the higher their level of social, part-time work, sport and alcohol/drug oriented youth culture involvement. Similarly, the greater their peer attachment the higher their level of social, part-time work, sport and alcohol/drug oriented involvement. Financial independence from parents and peer attachment both contribute to lower levels of passive youth culture involvement.

On the other hand degree of attachment to parents had little discernible effect on any of the youth culture pursuits examined. Only for the pursuits of drinking and drug use did we note a significant negative effect. Having strong parental support and attachment would appear to inhibit a young person from engaging in an alcohol/drug oriented culture. Similarly, parental supervision was found to have a negative effect on alcohol/drug oriented pursuits. Likewise, parental surveillance had a negative significant effect on a young person's involvement in social culture. These particular results should come as no surprise. In chapter two we discussed Hagan's power control theory, Hirschi's social bond theory and Nye's social control theory, all of which suggest a negative relationship between various elements of parental control and risk-taking behaviour. Risk taking behaviour as defined by these sociologists

includes dating, cruising, drinking, drug use and various illegal pursuits --- the same activities which make up our categories of social culture and alcohol/drug oriented culture.

What these findings suggest is that social control theory as defined in the deviance tradition is really only applicable to the more street based youth culture pursuits. Neither parental attachment or support nor parental surveillance played a role in our more conformist measure of youth culture. For the more conformist youth culture pursuits it was the more consensual elements of control of peer attachment and support, financial independence from parents and commitment to school that played a more significant role.

Next we examined whether these control factors, related to the rate of participation of selected youth culture pursuits, mediated the effects of gender, found in chapter four. The results did not unequivocally support the theory proposed. The various elements along a continuum of control were not able to account for the lesser involvement in youth culture reported by girls. Controlling for parental supervision, boys were still more involved in all pursuits. The same was true for supportive parent-child relationships, educational commitment and financial independence from parents. A combination of these factors when subject to a composite multiple regression analysis, however, was able to reduce, but not eliminate, the sex differential in part-time work and alcohol/drug oriented cultures, but not in sport, social or passive cultures. Given the overall lack of effect of elements of control we must conclude that our elements of control are not sufficient measures to account for teenage females lesser youth culture involvement. Even though girls were under greater and more varied sources of control, control theory as tested here was not a sufficient explanation of the sex differential in youth culture involvement. This finding will be explored further when we discuss the possibility of elaborating or extending our understanding of social control theory.

Limitations of a Private/Public Dichotomous Youth Culture Analysis

The recognition, in this study, of women's and men's varied youth culture activities provides an opportunity to show how both traditional male and liberal feminist models of youth culture has structured not just the popular view of youth culture, but also the compartmentalization of social life into separable structures with separate functions. The most serious deficiency of a polarized youth culture model is the connection of young women, not men, to a private-home-based culture. These constructions define female youth culture as peripheral and invisible or passive and familial and male culture as mainstream, visible, active and peer oriented. This type of model encourages a view which suggests that a female culture of youth must be understood in terms of differences and apartness (Rosaldo, 1980; Rubin, 1980). This was quite evident in the both the traditional 'malestream' model

> Girls culture becomes a culture of the bedroom, the place where girls meet, listen to music and teach each other make-up skills, practise their dancing, compare sexual notes, criticise each other's clothes and gossip (Frith, 1978:66).

> ... girls are located in different contradictions ... they may be peripheral in one sphere such as work, but they can be central in another such as the home (Brake, 1985:168).

as well as in the feminist model of youth:

> If women are marginal to the male culture of work ... it is because they are central and pivotal to a subordinate area, which mirrors, but in a complementary and subordinate way the 'dominant' masculine arenas. They are 'marginal' to work because they are central to the subordinate, complementary sphere of the family (McRobbie and Garber, 1976:211).

> A girl's leisure starts here, within the walls of her own bedroom. If she has a telephone extension, this is where she'll talk to her friends, at great length, and, if they visit, where she'll invite them to sit and drink diet pop and listen to the tape she just bought, and give counsel regarding a certain pair of pants and a pair of boots ... (Kostash, 1987:341).

These views encourage and actively contribute to the continual recreating of the male-dominated gender order and thus to the continued oppression of women. The continued perpetuation of a 'separateness' of spheres, even when those spheres may be defined as complementary, is a constraining force on women's youth culture involvement. The mere suggestion of gender typical youth culture spheres, acts as a social constraint which in turn operates to exclude or inhibit women's participation in the alternate sphere. Furthermore, such a bifurcation of youth culture may actually contribute to the development of gender identities that do not permit women to overcome agendas of oppression that spill over into all aspects of their lives.

Overall, observable patterns of youth culture behaviour discussed in this study both diverge from and converge with the dichotomous youth culture framework implicit in traditional and feminist models of youth culture. The findings diverge in that both young women and men partake in a variety of home-based as well as street-based activities.

The research findings outlined in chapter 4 suggest the polarized distinction implicit in existing youth culture research is too simplistic and misleading. The home-centred culture of music, chit chat, and good friends as outlined by Griffiths (1985), Kostash (1987), Lees (1986), McRobbie (1980) and McRobbie and Garber (1976) was not found to be the exclusive domain of girls compared to the street culture of boys --- hanging out on the street corner (Corrigan, 1979), or the youth clubs (Willis, 1977) and cavorting with alcohol and/or drugs, and other deviant behaviours (Brake, 1985) was not found to be the exclusive domain of boys.

Both the quantitative and qualitative findings of this study suggest young women are highly active in their youth culture pursuits. Through observing particular youth culture activities, it was apparent that the youth culture pursuits that had high

female participation rates, namely, sports, part-time employment, hanging out at the mall, drinking, partying and dating, lay outside the home-based sphere as it has been narrowly defined by traditional Marxist and liberal feminist youth culture research. At the same time young men were found pursuing activities within their own homes. Men's youth culture experiences included working in the yard, sitting in front of the television, visiting with friends, listening to music, watching videos and, working on their cars. These are activities which are not necessarily visible to the public world. The traditional public/private distinction, then, has presented a dichotomy of a gender division among young people which is not reflective of reality.

Our preliminary investigation of the everyday lives and not merely the spectacular lives of young women and men illustrate that the splitting of youth culture activities into home-centred/street-centred categories with young women occupying the nonvisible, home-based and young men the visible, street-based sphere, does not accurately reflect the Canadian youth culture scene. Not only were both female and male youth found to participate actively in street-based as well as home-based youth cultures, but there were additional activities engaged in by both males and females which could not accurately be classified as home-based or street-based. It was found that youth culture forms in Canada develop largely around: part-time employment, sports, exercise, drinking, partying, socializing, the mall and dating; to a lesser extent around television, hanging around doing nothing and cruising; and minimally around clubs, hobbies, voluntary organizations, drugs and illegal activities. Under the existing dichotomous youth culture model activities such as visiting friends, voluntary community work, 'partying', part-time work, hanging out at the mall, activities which take place outside the traditionally defined home-based or street-based realms are obscured within a dichotomous analysis.

The findings thus far suggest that the notion of a clear and rigid defined dichotomous separation between the two spheres largely reflects an ideological image (Tiano, 1984) of women's and men's ideal youth culture pursuits. Although perhaps applicable to some youth,[69] this image neither captures the "interactive, non-private

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[69]There were examples in which some women did not hold part-time jobs, did not participate in sports, did not drink, use drugs or go out on dates. And there were

dimension' (Hansen, 1987) nor the interconnectedness of the private and public dimensions (Pleck, 1976) of most male and particularly of female youth culture experiences.

Our findings also converge with existing youth culture research, in that, first, there does appear to be gender differences in degree of youth culture participation. The differences were greatest for activities of drinking, drug use, illegal activities and sport participation, activities which have traditionally and stereotypically been defined as male youth culture forms. Additionally, it was at the extreme ends of participation where gender differences were most apparent ---at the high and low levels of involvement not at the moderate levels.

Our findings further converge with existing youth culture literature, in that traditional gender-role-identities were found to be very much apparent within specific youth culture forms. For example, Canadian high school women's involvement in the part-time formal labour market was somewhat different from that of their male counterparts. Results outlined in chapter 4 suggest that part-time employment while still going to school is a prevalent youth culture phenomenon, for both male and female youth. Recent statistics in Canada suggest that there is an increasing proportion of students working part-time, and this increase has been particularly evident for young women. It is equally true that young people are more likely to work in the service and retail industries. Yet, within youth employment industries, there remains a gender segmented hierarchy. On average, female youth work fewer hours per week and correspondingly earn fewer dollars per week. Furthermore, similar to conclusions drawn by Baker (1985), employment for girls ranges from work such as babysitting to sales clerks, cashiers, clerical work and waitressing. Boys are employed in a wider range of jobs including waiters, sales clerks, gas station attendants, stock clerks, sports instructors and a variety of manual labourer type positions. Indeed, the distribution of teenage paid labour by sex parallels, somewhat, the occupational distribution found among adults. The data show gender differences among high school students that slowly widen later on in the adult labour market.

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male youth who spent much of their time cruising, drinking, smoking drugs and engaging in illegal activities.

We also find that although a high proportion of teenage females are involved in sports they are more likely than not to pursue individual rather than team oriented activities. They work out and go running, swimming and cycling rather than play soccer, football or racquet sports. In chapter four it was suggested that perhaps the more team oriented pursuits do not conform to a culture of femininity. Alternatively it may be that the greater involvement in separate individual sports pursuits reflect young women's effort to overcome the restrictiveness they experience in team sports especially among adolescents. The structure of sport and athleticism in society encourages an environment in which women may choose to isolate themselves in individual oriented pursuits. Relative to males, females experience greater scrutiny, a lack of athletic respect, and they are criticized for not being feminine; in addition, their sports needs are seen, by families, peers and schools, as separate, different from and even marginal to those of men (Talbot, 1988).

Similar traditional gender role identities were evident in students' hobbies of choice and in young people's involvement in household tasks. The data show that not only do teens perform gender-traditional jobs in the workplace but also in the home. Females report contributing more time to household chores than males; as well they report performing gender-typed household tasks. The young women in our study report having to prepare meals, do dishes, dust, vacuum and perform in general more 'indoor' jobs, jobs that have traditionally constituted 'female' tasks. The young men in our study report doing yard work, cutting the grass, shovelling snow, that is, traditional male tasks.

The consistently higher rate of participation for males in a variety of pursuits and the existence of traditional gender role identities within these pursuits although not indicative of autonomous youth culture forms does suggest that Canadian youth culture is very much gendered. Thus, while we may be seeing equality in the kinds of activities pursued, traditional gender identities are still very much apparent. On the surface, it may appear that there is greater equality --- male and females do participate in similar forms of youth culture. Beneath the surface, there still exists gender inequality.

These significant gender differences in the content and context of various experiences of youth lead us to question how girls' everyday lives are circumscribed

by ideologies of gender and relations of control. Our premise is that the social patterning of gendered youth culture is derived from a patriarchal continuum of control ranging from parental surveillance and peer group attachment, through 'normative regulations', to violence and threats of violence on the streets rather than from any biological function.

Extending Social Control Theory for an Understanding of Normative Youth Culture in Gender Context

In this study we examined some obvious, perhaps objective measures of control --- do your parents know where you are, or with whom you are when you are not at home; in times of trouble how much can you rely on your mother, father or friends for help; do you have regular and daily use of a car; what is the state of your own personal financial situation. These are all elements of control that can be easily measured through survey data. We need to ask ourselves is there a deeper level of control not conceptualized in this study? Is it not perhaps more likely that these various measures are meshed with invisible, culturally defined gender ideologies? Let me explain by way of an example.

Why is it, or how is it, that parents know their daughter's whereabouts more so than their sons? Is it because gender role socialization encourages daughters to be more dependent and sons independent, or that daughters are socialized to be more familially connected? Is it because the greater threat of harassment and violence perpetuated against females than males in our society encourages parents to be more protective of their daughters? Is it because daughters have greater familial obligations than do sons or is it because daughters have less personal income and less access to a car? In other words, social control as operationalized in this study may be too restrictive and therefore has limited explanatory power for understanding the continuum of normative youth culture. For example, it may be that overt forms of control can explain gender variations in deviant/street-based youth culture activities but not the more conformist youth culture activities.

It may not be enough to examine familial control, peer control and socialized

control mechanisms in isolation --- these very elements of control are structured by the ideologies of patriarchal society. And, in this case, how then can we separate out the influences of gender from the influences of control. They are so intertwined that it is difficult to determine mediating effects. The gender system itself is a system of control. What this suggests is that to truly understand the ways in which control might mediate gendered youth culture we need to extend our understanding to the other layers of control which surround and pervade the lives and experiences of youth, particularly female youth. These other layers of control might best be conceptualized on a continuum, ranging from the consensual to the coercive. In a sense, this socialized or consensual control encourages girls to do traditionally 'female things', while overt or coercive control restricts girls from illegal/deviant traditionally 'male things'. For example, the life experiences of teenage women include a valuation of masculinity over femininity, obligations, duties, restrictions, fears, definitions of sexuality, norms of beauty, dependence and caring which are not only different from those of teenage men, have been defined largely by men and have also been left unexamined by traditional "malestream" youth culture research. These aspects of a young woman's social reality are integral forces in shaping her everyday youth culture experiences. It is this system of gender norms that is more detrimental in structuring a young woman's everyday world. By buying into these gender norms, women may become their own worst enemy, without even realizing it. For example, when asked how she spent her Saturday, one young woman in our study stated "I slept in Saturday morning" then "I rushed around the house dusting and vacuuming before I went out"; Saturday evening" I didn't want to feel like I had done nothing all day". Another woman stated "I didn't do anything ... I stayed home, cleaned my room and took care of my baby sister".

These gender norms contribute to the maintenance of patriarchy. They define and limit the roles and behaviours deemed appropriate for females. In a sense then they have all contributed to young women's lesser involvement in a variety of youth culture pursuits. Parental monitoring of daughters' whereabouts, fear of harassment and violence, daughter's greater responsibility for household tasks, norms of caring and appearance illustrate the broader pattern of controlling female's youth culture choices.

Getting away from the more finite elements of control and extending social control theory to encompass the more informal, sometimes consensual, sometimes coercive processes of control helps us to focus on a level or dimension of implicit social control that has not been adequately emphasized in traditional youth culture research. Parental surveillance, peer group attachments, women's greater domestic responsibility, perceived and real violence on the street and at home, gender differences in paid wages, financial dependence, norms regarding appropriate gendered behaviour all link gender and control together. They are all part and parcel of normal everyday life for the majority of young women. They all are shaped by and constitute important aspects of an overall system of patriarchy (Schur, 1984).

In extending our understanding of social control beyond those measured in this thesis we can begin to situate women's youth culture experiences in its wider context of patriarchal society. Overall, women's youth culture behaviour is closely regulated and this regulation operates at a number of levels and takes a number of different forms. The forms of social control experienced by women are largely grounded in constraints such as economic dependence, parental supervision and in shared assumptions about appropriate behaviour for women. Their greater financial dependence, their greater responsibility for domestic work are just two of the constraints that mirror those of adult women and restrict youth culture involvement. Furthermore, they are both part of the gender system characteristic of a patriarchal society.

Other ways female youth culture is constrained are through strategies used by men to maintain control over various pursuits through the use of jokes, ridiculing behaviour, sexual innuendos, even open hostility. These strategies of control operate not only on the streets and local bars but also on the ice rinks, the basketball courts, in the swimming pool, at part-time jobs and through the media. Underlying all these strategies is the threat of physical violence (Green et al., 1987). One of the most severe restrictions on women's youth culture is their fear of being out alone after dark, walking in the streets, waiting for a bus and so on. What is important to understand here is that the informal social control on women is a part of normal, everyday life.

The consideration of everyday gendered youth culture in Canada emphasises

the importance of the concept "the personal is political" by showing that there are individual as well as structural, cultural and ideological influences on what, where and how both women and men experienced their everyday life-world experiences of youth.

Reconceptualizing A Gendered Youth Culture Model

Clearly a central finding of this study is that the situation of youth culture in contemporary Canadian society must be understood in relation to the home, the mall, parties, part-time employment and the street, in addition to relations of family, friends and the construction of self. The identifying of these various pursuits and relations call into question the view of youth culture along a gendered divide, if for no other reason than, the public/private dichotomy leads to a very restricted and inaccurate understanding of youth culture in Canada. In gaining an understanding of the various youth culture pursuits of both males and females, we begin to challenge the way youth culture has been traditionally conceptualized. Such considerations suggest the need for reconceptualizing the home-street culture distinction. Rather than reflecting dichotomous youth culture forms, these concepts might more accurately represent poles of a continuum. Youth culture could then be seen as a continuous series of activities ranging from passive pursuits through income-generating part-time employment activities, to traditionally defined youth culture pursuits of hanging around and alcohol/drug oriented adventures.

Conceptualizing youth culture in this manner would direct attention toward the numerous and varied youth culture activities engaged in by all of Canada's youth, both male and female. The degree of separation between the two spheres could then be viewed as a variable, and factors, such as social class, ethnicity, gender role socialization, female youth's greater responsibility for domestic work, part-time paid employment, the extent to which men control women's sexuality, peer and familial relations of support and attachment, future educational and occupational aspirations, which limit and shape the gendered separation would be specified empirically. The continuum could also be used to conceptualize aggregate processes, such as changing

ideologies of women's 'ideal' roles, or men's and women's youth culture patterns. The movement of males and females along the youth culture continuum could be traced to learn more about society's changing need for youth culture understanding and awareness.

This understanding may lead to a more sociologically informed theory and revisioning of youth culture, since it sees youth culture as embedded in a full array of social relations and life-world experiences. Such a scrutiny of the life-world of youth provides not only a whole new way of looking at youth culture, but also of young women's role in it. By understanding the complexity of women's lives, feminist theory reconceptualizes and transforms the meaning of youth culture. Thus, youth culture issues can be considered in relation to larger and more complicated questions about social relations and social life.

The first step in a reconceptualization of youth culture would be the recognition of home-based and street-based spheres as socially and historically constructed and as mere representations of socially enforced patterns of gender. Such a view of youth culture seems particularly important for sociology since it focuses on a reintegration of everyday and essential aspects of social life. It reintegrates the study of social reality into a more complex, more complete and a more accurate picture of the life-world of youth. It brings to the forefront the everyday aspects of youth that are significant in their own right and does not only focus on the dramatic cultural form. A social control analysis of gendered youth culture is a call to face the facts realistically and to illuminate that prevailing patterns of defining youth culture can be changed.

RECOMMENDATIONS AND DIRECTION FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Based on the findings of this study, the following recommendations are offered for further research.

Theoretical Recommendations

(1) Attention should be directed toward developing a theory of social control which conceptualizes control along a continuum. The measures of control incorporated in this study presented a weak and very deterministic model of youth culture involvement. This leads us to conclude that the theoretical orientation underlying this study needs serious re-consideration. Clearly young women are not passive recipients of patriarchal ideology and control. Future research would do well to incorporate a more complete measure of control. Such a continuum of control would incorporate measures of independence and personal control in addition to the more consensual, overt and coercive elements of control. By incorporating various measures of personal control we would then be able to address the ways in which teenage women overcome social constraints and expectations.

Research Recommendations

(1) Research should be directed toward testing the above theoretical model and its applicability for understanding youth culture as gendered.

(2) Future research designed to identify gendered dimensions of youth culture should more explicitly take into account the correlation between gender identities and youth culture pursuits. An important place to begin would be by questioning the meaning of masculinity and femininity for young people themselves. Future research needs to examine the extent to which young women and men do in fact display normatively defined gendered characteristics. From here we could address the nature of the connection between such gender identities and youth culture involvement. For

example, are 'traditional' gendered definitions of self correlated with traditionally gender defined youth culture experiences? Additionally, what relationship does this potential correlation have with a young person's future aspirations and behaviours?

(3) Attention should also focus on diversity found across class and ethnic groupings. The measures of class and ethnicity used in this study although weak did suggest that teenage women from lower class and ethnic family backgrounds are more highly controlled and restricted in their youth culture pursuits. Future research would do well to consider not only ethnicity and class but also native diversity in the cultural experiences of Canada's youth.

(4) Additionally a combination of quantitative and qualitative techniques of inquiry should be adopted, in future youth culture research. The linear and cross-sectional nature of the present model adopted in this study would appear to be an inadequate basis for capturing and interpreting the complex relationship between gender identity, control and youth culture. The qualitative aspect of this study provided valuable insight into the gendered nature of youth culture, insights which were not visibly apparent through the quantitative analysis.

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APPENDIX A

SELECT YEMP 1985 SURVEY ITEMS
EDMONTON YOUTH EMPLOYMENT STUDY

v3	City of Survey
v6	Respondent's year of birth
v7	Respondent's sex
v8	Respondent's marital status
v17	R's language spoken at home
v22	Parent's financial situation
v23	R's current financial situation
v33	Does R presently have a paying job
v33	R's type of job presently held
v34	Hours per week R usually works
v35	Amount of money, on average, R takes home each week
v133	In the past year, has R been involved in any illegal activities (not counting traffic violations)?
v139	How frequently does R drink beer, wine, or other alcohol?
v140	How frequently does R smoke marijuana or hash?
v141	How frequently does R use other illegal drugs?
v161	When R has problems, how much can R rely on their mother for help?
v162	When R has problems, how much can R rely on their father for help?
v163	When R has problems, how much can R rely on their friends for help?
v166	In total, how many clubs, teams or organizations did R belong to this year?
v167	Does R regularly participate in sports or engage in physical exercise?
v169	How often in the past four weeks has R done any voluntary community work?
v171	Not counting the time R spends at school (or at work), how much time does R spend just hanging around and doing nothing?

Appendix A con't...

v172 In a typical week, how many hours would R spend watching T.V?
v231 On average, what has R's grades been like this past school year
v274 How often does R go out on dates?
v275 Does R own a car, or have regular (daily) use of a car?
v276 In a typical week, how many hours does R spend just riding around in a car, either alone or with friends?
v277 What R did Saturday morning
v278 What R did Saturday afternoon
v279 R's second answer
v280 What R did Saturday evening
v281 R's second answer

APPENDIX B

RATE OF PARTICIPATION ON SELECT YOUTH CULTURE PURSUITS

(i) Average Hours Per Week Spent Watching Television

zero	2.6%
one to five	35.7%
six to ten	30.0%
eleven to fifteen	11.0%
sixteen to twenty	8.1%
more than twenty	12.6%
	(1857)

(ii) Time Spent Just Hanging Around

hardly ever	56.3%
half the time	37.4%
most of the time	6.4%
	(1886)

Appendix B con't...

(iii) Hours Per Week Spent Cruising

zero	25.7%
one to five	49.6%
more than six	24.8%
	(1792)

(iv) Frequency of Dating

never	21.5%
less than once a month	14.0%
once or twice a month	21.0%
once per week	19.8%
more than once a week	23.6%
	(1859)

(v) Hours Per Week Spent at Part-time Employment

zero	44.0%
one to ten	12.8%
eleven to twenty	27.4%
more than twenty	15.9%
	(2025)

Appendix B con't...

(vi) Membership in Clubs/Organizations

none	39.4%
one	22.2%
two	16.9%
three	9.6%
more than three	11.9%
	(1805)

(vii) Involvement in Sport Participation

no	27.2%
yes	72.8%
	(1889)

(viii) Involvement in Volunteer Community Work

no	87.6%
yes	12.4%
	(1875)

Appendix B con't...

(ix) Frequency of Drinking

never	16.2%
less than once a month	18.9%
once or twice a month	20.7%
once a week	26.4%
more than once a week	17.9%
	(1954)

(x) Frequency of Drug Use

never	73.2%
less than once a month	11.1%
once or twice a month	5.2%
once a week	3.4%
more than once a week	7.2%
	(1936)

(xi) Involvement in Illegal Activity

never	57.4%
seldom	18.4%
sometimes	12.4%
often	11.8%
	(1954)

APPENDIX C

TYPES OF JOBS PRESENTLY HELD BY RESPONDENTS BY SEX, 1985

Job Category	Female	Male
Community Planning		
draughting	0.2 (1)	0.1 (1)
system programming	---	0.4 (3)
Social Science Field		
youth counsellor	0.7 (4)	0.3 (2)
Teaching and Related Occupations		
arts and crafts	1.3 (7)	0.1 (1)
special ed	0.2 (1)	0.1 (1)
Nursing and Related Occuaptions		
student nurse	0.2 (1)	---
health and social services	1.6 (9)	0.6 (5)
dental hygenist/nurse	0.6 (3)	---
Commercial Art/photography		
fashion decorating	0.4 (2)	---
art/advertising	0.2 (1)	---
Performing and Audio Visual Arts		
music	---	0.3 (2)
dance	0.2 (1)	---
actress/actor	---	0.4 (4)

Appendix C con't...

Sports and Recreation		
recreation services	0.2 (1)	---
coach	0.5 (3)	0.9 (6)
athletic trainer	---	0.2 (2)
attendant	1.1 (6)	1.6 (11)
Clercial and Related Occup.		
secretarial	1.6 (9)	0.1 (1)
supervisor clerk	---	0.1 (1)
bank teller	0.9 (5)	---
cashier	17.6 (98)	3.5 (24)
Data Processing/Office Machine		
word processing operator	0.5 (3)	---
Material Recording, Scheduling and Distribution Occup.		
supercargo clerk	---	2.4 (16)
stock clerk	0.7 (4)	5.6 (38)
library clerk	1.3 (7)	0.4 (3)
receptionist	3.1 (17)	---
postal clerk	0.2 (1)	0.3 (2)
telephone operator	0.5 (3)	---
messenger	0.5 (3)	0.1 (1)
Other Clerical Related Occup.		
travel ticket clerk	---	0.3 (2)
hotel clerk	0.2 (1)	0.3 (2)
personnel clerk	0.2 (1)	0.1 (1)
general office clerk	2.2 (12)	1.5 (10)
other clerk	0.4 (2)	---

Appendix C con't...

Sales Occupation		
supervisor sales	0.5 (3)	1.2 (8)
sales clerk	25.9 (144)	13.4 (91)
door to door/street vendor	0.2 (1)	---
news paper	0.2 (1)	0.4 (3)
service station	0.4 (2)	6.3 (43)
sales	0.2 (1)	---
real estate	0.2 (1)	---
other	0.5 (3)	---
Service Occupation		
guard	---	1.5 (10)
arm forces	---	1.6 (11)
other	1.1 (6)	0.7 (5)
Food and Beverage		
supervision	0.2 (1)	0.6 (4)
chef/cook	2.2 (12)	8.4 (57)
bartender	0.2 (1)	0.9 (6)
serve food	15.6 (87)	10.8 (73)
food preparation	0.5 (3)	---
Lodging and Other Accomodation		
cleaner	0.7 (4)	---
baggage/porter	---	0.3 (2)
other	---	0.1 (1)

Appendix C con't...

Personal Service		
housekeeper	0.4 (2)	0.1 (1)
hairdresser	2.0 (11)	---
travel attendant	0.2 (1)	---
child care	6.5 (36)	---
other	0.4 (2)	1.3 (9)
Apparel and Furnishing		
laundry/dry cleaner	0.5 (3)	---
pressing	0.2 (1)	---
Other Service Occupations		
supervision	---	0.3 (2)
janitor	2.2 (12)	5.6 (38)
elemental work	1.1 (6)	5.6 (38)
other	---	1.2 (8)
Farming, horticultural, animal		
farmer	---	0.1 (1)
nursery	---	2.4 (16)
other	---	0.4 (3)
Metal Processing and Related		
metal work	---	0.1 (1)
Food Beverage and Related		
foreman	---	0.7 (5)
meat cutting	---	0.6 (4)
Machinery Related		
sheet metal	---	0.1 (1)

Appendix C con't...

Product Fabrication and Repairs		
assembly	---	0.1 (1)
radio, T.V. repairs	---	0.6 (4)
Mechanic Reparis		
motor vehicle	---	2.9 (20)
construct machinery	---	0.1 (1)
other	0.2 (1)	0.5 (4)
painting	---	0.1 (1)
Construction and Trade		
construction	---	0.6 (5)
carpenters	---	0.3 (2)
painters	---	0.1 (1)
other	---	1.4 (10)
Transportation Equipment Operating		
railway	0.2 (1)	---
truck driver	0.4 (2)	1.0 (7)
subway	---	0.1 (1)
freight handler	0.3 (2)	
other	---	2.2 (15)
Other Craft and Equipment Operating		
type setting	---	0.1 (1)
printing press	---	0.4 (3)
video record	---	0.2 (2)
photo processing	0.2 (1)	0.3 (2)
other	0.4 (2)	1.7 (12)
Total	45.1 (557)	54.9 (678)